THE MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE

by

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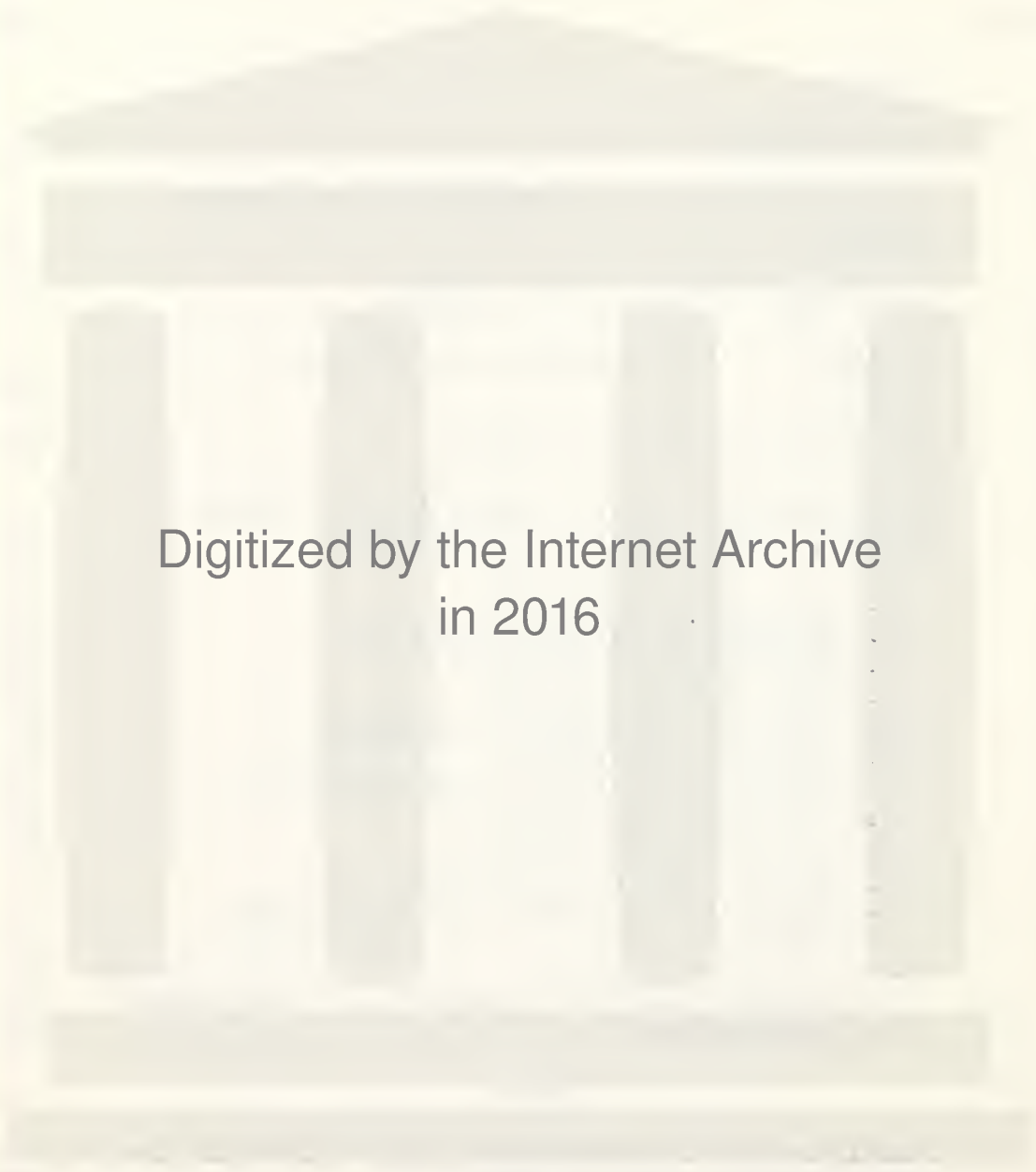

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Preface

The end product of any investigation, the accuracy of the information used, the completeness with which the available material is covered, depend for the most part on the interest of the author in the work which he is doing. There are certain factors, however, which can increase tremendously this interest. One of these factors is the co-operation which he receives from those people whose agency is under investigation. If they are willing to make the necessary documents and literature available, if they are willing to discuss problems which arise in relation to this information, or if they can find time to offer criticisms of the work which has been done, the over-all interest of the investigator is increased, thus resulting in better research.

The author, therefore, feels that any success which is accredited to this paper should be shared, at least in part, by several people. To Miss Katharine Lyford, Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League, who always found time to answer questions on the League's activities, methods, and organization, the author owes a debt of gratitude. Miss Lyford was especially co-operative in making suggestions for the illustrative examples which are used in this paper; she also was helpful in correcting the specific details which were used to describe the League's organization and functions.

The author is also indebted to Miss Lyford's assistant, Miss Miriam Butler, who endured so patiently the author's continual "just one more question and I'll not bother you again." Miss Butler was a welcome guide in the quest for material which had been filed either in the Town Room or the Cabinets or the files of the Association. For, in these files and cabinets are a wealth of information on the activities of the Massachusetts Civic League and its antecedents. There are scrapbooks containing news clippings, letters, brochures, press releases, etc. Besides these clippings, the League has a complete set of Annual Reports and of copies of the Lens, which were so essential to the success of this venture.

Furthermore, the author is grateful to his instructor, Dr. Don Leiffer, for his criticism, direction, and especially his encouragement throughout the school year which was spent on this problem.

As a final token of gratitude for the co-operation which has been shown by the League and its employees, the author wishes to dedicate this study to the Massachusetts Civic League with the wish that the League may continue to serve the Commonwealth as it has in the past.

Introduction

There can be no doubt that the principle of pressure politics is a basic, even vital part of American democracy. Since every country consists, fundamentally, of an inestimable number of groups or associations whose members have common desires, common aims, common interests, it is natural that they should seek to exert influence on the government which will result in legislation favorable to these aims and interests. Mr. E. Pendleton Herring estimated conservatively in 1929 that there are as many as five hundred pressure groups operating at the National Capital;[1] we have no reason to believe that this number has decreased since that date. Furthermore, there are forty-eight state governments, let alone the number of county and municipal governments, which are susceptible to pressure.

If, then, the legislators are to be subjected to the influence of pressure for group interests, for what better purpose could a pressure group be formed than for the collective welfare of the people of a state? The Massachusetts Civic League is such a pressure group. It is the purpose of this thesis to show (1) the historical background of the Massachusetts Civic League; (2) the organization of the League; (3) a study of the functions exercised and methods used by the Massachusetts Civic League; (4) the finance of the association; and (5) the

1. E. Pendleton Herring, Group Representation Before Congress, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1929, ff.19-21.

activities of the Massachusetts Civic League, past, present, and future. The author feels confident that a study of these five topics will eliminate any existing doubt of the statement that the Massachusetts Civic League is a people's pressure group, organized for the social betterment of the people.

The Beginnings of the Massachusetts Civic League

In 1866 there was formed a system of State Primary Schools in Massachusetts as a "place of maintenance and education for boys and girls between the ages of three and sixteen who must otherwise have been placed in the almshouse."[1] From their inception, these State Primary Schools were under the control of the Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy and Charity. The duties of this board were so diversified that the members were unable to devote sufficient consideration to this new agency. By 1895, conditions had become so bad that the trustees of the State Primary Schools expressed a desire in their annual report that the school should be closed.

It is not to any advantage to discuss here the multitude of reasons for reaching the decision to close the school. A brief summary of the defects will suffice to explain the wisdom of this decision:

I. One major difficulty was the fact that the Trustees were required to work hand in hand with the State Board of Lunacy and Charity. Though this board was responsible for the care of the children, they were much too busy to do so.

II. The State Board of Lunacy and Charity never made any clear investigation of the various types of children placed in the school. There was little consideration given to the idea

1. Report of the Trustees of the State Primary School, 1895, p.3.

of separating the unfortunate State dependent children from the delinquent children. For example, in 1894 forty-four boys from the Lyman School for Boys (a delinquent institution) were sent to the State Primary School at Monson, Massachusetts.

III. There was a definite lack of close relation between the children sent out to board and those who directed the placement. Thus the state board had little knowledge of work which was placed on these children.

The results of these complaints stated by the Trustees were twofold: a suggestion, later put into the form of a bill, was made that the State Primary School be abolished;[2] that there be formed a State Children's Bureau to consist of an unpaid Board of Trustees subject to control by the Board of Lunacy and Charity.[3]

It is in connection with this report by the Trustees that the ancestor of what was to become the Massachusetts Civic League was founded. A Children's Bureau Association was formed in Boston, Massachusetts with the following officers: William D. Fowler, President; Joseph Lee, Vice President; Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Treasurer; and Mrs. James E. Carret, Secretary. The office was located at 1003 Exchange Building, Boston, Massachusetts.[4] In a statement of purpose which was issued by the Children's Bureau Association, the following

2. Report of the Trustees, Page 7.
3. Report of the Trustees of State Primary School, 1895.
4. Letterhead, Children's Bureau Association, Nov.16, 1895.

quotations are significant:

> "The object of the Children's Bureau Association is to reorganize and extend the system of caring for the poor and neglected children of the Commonwealth.[5]

The Circular of Purpose further explains (1) the need of such a bureau; (2) the advantages of such a bureau; (3) the proposed plan for the Children's Bureau.

The circular ends by stating:

> You are earnestly invited to become a member of this association and to help this movement by your voice and influence.[6]

Much of the material in the early records of the League (1894-'95) consists of editorials, letters, pamphlets, etc., which were either written or based on writings by members of the Children's Bureau Association. One name which appears continously in these pages is that of Joseph Lee, who wrote prolifically in attempts to prove the necessity of founding a Children's Bureau.

The efforts of the Children's Bureau would, by themselves, demonstrate a noble effort exercised for a noble cause; however, it is of major importance here only as a step toward the creation of the Massachusetts Civic League. Its significant contribution to the early history of the League is that, as a result of the efforts expressed in seeking a Children's Bureau,

5. Circular of the Children's Bureau Association, issued at Boston, Massachusetts, 1895, as found in the scrapbook of the Massachusetts League, 1894-'95. This scrapbook and many others containing important historical data are kept

there arose a demand for complete revision of the Massachusetts system of Public Welfare which existed under the State Board of Lunacy and Charity. The Boston Journal makes the comment that:

> There is now a plan proposed to inaugurate a new system of relief which would abolish the State Board of Lunacy and Charity. The proposed bill would allow the Government of the Commonwealth to appoint a commission of five persons to investigate the charitable and reform institutions of the State.[7]

This proposed plan became an actuality when a Senate Resolve legalized the creation of a commission with powers as stated by the Boston Journal.[8]

The Commission, consisting of William F. Wharton, Charles F. Folsom, and Professor Davis R. Dewey, is here quoted:

> The Commission holds that the same board cannot undertake the care of a class of State Wards and likewise occupy a position of independent criticism of its own work in this direction....(They recommend) the creation of a department which shall have the care, custody, and

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by the Massachusetts Civic League at its offices and/or the Town Room of the League. They are organized usually on a yearly basis. Sometimes, however, the scrapbooks contain information pertaining to one single activity or campaign (see chapter III for a definition of campaign). Hereafter, these scrapbooks or letters will be referred to simply as Scrapbook of the Massachusetts Civic League, 19— or Letter written by _____.

6. Circular of the Children's Bureau Association, 1895.
7. Boston Journal, Boston, Massachusetts, January 19, 1896 as included in the Records of the Massachusetts Civic League, 1896. (Though the name of the newspaper and the date of publication are available, the pages, column, or volume are usually non-existent in the files of the Civic League.)
8. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Senate Resolution No. 107, February 27, 1896.

> control of the juvenile wards of the state...[and] that such a department be subject to supervision of the State Board of Charity as it may be created under the recommendation of this report.[9]

Other recommendations included were (1) creation of a State Board of Insanity, (2) inspection twice yearly of the State Institutions by the appropriate boards, (3) uniformity of prison sentences, (4) better conditions in prisons.[10]

Six days after the report of the Commission was issued, a meeting was held to form a committee "to consider ways and means to secure the enactment of the measures proposed by the Commission on the Charitable and Reformatory Interests and Institutions of the State."[11] Mr. Joseph Lee was the chairman of the committee. It is definitely significant that the names of the leaders and participants of this meeting were identical in most cases with those who formulated the Children's Bureau Association.

The following day, March 12, 1897,[12] The Citizen's Association on the Report of the Commission on Charitable and Reformatory Interests and Institutions was formed. In a letter to all the members of the Children's Bureau Association, the Executive Committee, consisting of Joseph Lee, chairman, and Mary Morton Kehew, secretary, stated:

9. Boston Journal, Boston, Massachusetts, March 5, 1897, as found in the scrapbook of the Massachusetts Civic League, 1897.
10. Idem.
11. Scrapbook, Massachusetts Civic League, 1897, quoted from a letter sent from 317 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., March 12, 1897.
12. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, Boston, Mass., 1901.

> The recent report of the Commission to investigate the Charitable and Reformatory Interests and Institutions of the Commonwealth affords an opportunity for the improvement, not only of the system of caring for the state minor wards, but for the whole administration of public charities and our prison system such as has never occurred before and is not likely to occur again. The report commands the enthusiastic approval of leading specialists upon the subjects of child helping, pauperism, prisons and the care of the insane. It is only(possible) by making its proposals generally known and understood to secure for it the voice of every public spirited citizen of the Commonwealth.[13]

With this noble purpose in mind, the former Children's Bureau Association expanded its activities over a wider scope. Officers of this new Citizen's Association were: William Lawrence, Chairman; Joseph Lee, Vice-Chairman; Mary Morton Kehew, Secretary.

In passing, it is interesting to note that the efforts of this Citizen's Association were fruitful in the following ways: I. Their work was greatly influential in the creation of a State Board of Insanity. II. The Association studied provisions for the state care and support of pauper insane as the first step toward providing the needed improvements. Unfortunately the Children's Bureau bill was defeated by one vote in the Committee.[14]

The following statement expresses quite lucidly why this Citizen's Association was valuable:

13. Scrapbook, Massachusetts Civic League, 1897. The letter was written at Boston, Mass., March 13, 1897 by Joseph Lee and Mary Morton Kehew.
14. Report of the Executive Committee of the Association on the Report of the Commission to Investigate the Charitable and

> ... A voluntary association must always be valuable in supplementing official action, being much more free to conduct public agitation than any official body can be, even under the most favorable conditions. [15]

After such an expression no other action could result except the formation of a permanent organization which would supplement the efforts of the State Legislature to discover and provide for the needy people of Massachusetts. Therefore, at a meeting of the Association on the report of the Commission on the Charitable and Reformatory Interests and Institutions of the Commonwealth, which was held at Perkins Hall, Boston, on January 23, 1899, a constitution was adopted which changed the name of the association to the Massachusetts Civic League. The title MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE is rather significant because it demonstrates the desire of the membership to act on the same basis as the State Legislature, i.e., as one legislative unit. Nowhere can one find a better expression of the purpose of the Massachusetts Civic League than is to be read in the second Article of its constitution:

> The object of the Association is to inform and organize public sentiment in matters pertaining to the charitable and reformatory interests and institutions of the Commonwealth and to promote the study, careful framing, and systematic agitation of measures of social improvements. [16]

Reformatory Interests and Institutions of the Commonwealth July 27, 1898.

15. Idem.
16. Constitution of the Massachusetts Civic League, Article II, as found in the Annual Report of the League, 1900.

The officers provided for by the first constitution were: President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The first president was the Right Reverend William Lawrence; Vice-President, Joseph Lee; Secretary, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew; and Treasurer, Mrs. Alice Brandeis.

Other significant provisions of that constitution are found in Article Four which creates a governing committee of not more than twenty-five members, including the officers of the League, ex-officio. This Governing Committee had the authority to create an Advisory Council and to conduct affairs of the organization.[17] Membership in the League is open to all who are "in sympathy with the object and policy of the Association."[18] A process for amending the Constitution is provided by Article Five wherein it is stated that amendments shall be by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the meeting.[19]

Thus, it has been shown that the Massachusetts Civic League is the result of an evolutionary movement to better the lot of the peoples of the State of Massachusetts who had no other lobby. However, a thorough analysis shows that the impetus for this evolution was actively stimulated by the efforts of a few civic minded people --- Bishop William Lawrence, Mrs. Louis Brandeis, and Mr. Louis Brandeis, who later became a brilliant figure in the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. William Fowler, and several others.

17. Ibid., Article IV.
18. Constitution, op. cit., Article V.
19. Ibid., Article VII.

One name, however, which stands out as especially important, not only in early days of the League, but throughout its activities until death claimed his noble spirit, was that of Mr. Joseph Lee. It would not be unfair to the others to call Mr. Lee the guiding light of the Massachusetts Civic League. Although Mr. Lee was independently wealthy, a descendant of two of Boston's first families, the Cabots and the Jacksons, his wealth and social position in no way affected his interest in the problems of his fellowmen. The following episode will give the reader a clear insight into the character of this great man:

In his youth someone asked, "Joe, why don't you buy a steam yacht and spend your money on things which will give you a good time?"

"A good time," he exclaimed in reply, "nothing would interest me less. But the problems of this world and the solution of these problems seem to me to have an unending interest."[20]

Throughout his life, Mr. Lee was greatly interested in outdoor activities, boating, skating, and the like. These youthful activities influenced his thinking greatly. Perhaps it is this influence which urged Joseph Lee to experiment with the idea of playgrounds and recreation for the children of Boston, especially the underprivileged youth. His efforts in fostering this playground movement, which was intertwined for

20. Recreation, National Recreation Association, New York, New York, December, 1937, Page 536.

many years in the activities of the Massachusetts Civic League, would constitute a volume by itself. Let this suffice to say that this man, Joseph Lee, who gave unstintingly of his time, his efforts, and his funds, has often been referred to as the father of the playground movement in America.

Just what Joseph Lee meant to the Civic League would be difficult to estimate. His retiring nature, shying away from publicity, restricts somewhat the evaluation of his activities as a member of the League. For many years, Mr. Lee served as vice-president of the association. It was not until 1915 that he accepted the position of president. Regardless of his title, his efforts were always towards fostering the aims of the League. When Mr. Lee retired from the presidency in 1936, the League adopted this resolution:

> In paying tribute to him as the founder, the official head, the leading spirit, and the generous and constant supporter of the League, its members of today realize that they are voicing not alone the obligation of an organization but the unmeasured debt of the whole people of the Commonwealth to Mr. Lee for the service he has given to its most vital social interests. The League has been through the years the instrumentality for the accomplishment of his high purposes, the means for bringing into partnership with him men and women with like impulses, the mobilization of the forces for definite and practical achievements in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth.[21]

Perhaps no more fitting tribute to the efforts of Joseph Lee in connection with the Civic League exists than the Town

21. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XIV, No. 2, July 1936, Page 6.

House at 3 Joy Street, Boston, the present home of the Massachusetts Civic League. Mr. Lee worked unstintingly to provide the Civic League with this home. One feature of the Town House is a room called the Town Room, a department of the Civic League. The Town Room of itself is very difficult to describe. It has some of the features of an ancient guild hall, yet it is furnished in a pattern which is reminiscent of colonial times. The entire room is wainscotted to a height of eight or nine feet in richly furnished cypress paneling.[22] In Joseph Lee's own words:

> In its ideal, the Town Room is a place where the village improvement society, the hard working country minister, or any person engaged in daily, first hand, perhaps discouraging struggles for the improvement of social conditions, when they come up to town on some occasional pilgrimage...shall be able to wander in a place both homelike and suggestive of new things.[23]

What relation does this room have to the Massachusetts Civic League other than physical proximity? Any persons or groups who are interested in local betterment work in their town or in state legislation, or such subjects as schools, school nurses, physical training, housing, etc., may receive information as to what has been attempted in these fields and what has been achieved in other places by either writing to the Massachusetts Civic League or stopping in at the room. It is open at all times to any citizen of Massachusetts just as is

22. Boston Herald, Boston, Massachusetts, March 13, 1910.
23. Idem.

membership in the League.

The author does not intend at this time to discuss the achievements of the Massachusetts Civic League; that will be considered in later chapters.[24] However, no exposition of the history of the Association would be complete unless it contained a statement of a few of the major achievements. Briefly then, these topics should be mentioned:

I. The agitation by the League for the state care of the insane was a major effort which bore fruit. (Their efforts in this field have already been mentioned.)[25]

II. Another important result of the League's work was the development of the Playground System in Boston. The idea, of course, has since spread throughout the nation, even the world.

III. The Civic League was instrumental in the passage of a bill to "protect parks and parkways from disfigurement by advertisements",[26] a law which they still work diligently to have enforced.

IV. For several years the Civic League worked with a problem of licensing newsboys and bootblacks, and with the idea of transferring the licensing power to the school committee instead of leaving it with the Board of Aldermen. This law was passed in 1902.[27]

24. Infra, Chapters III, V.
25. Supra, Pages 7 and 8.
26. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, 1903, Page 8.
27. Passim, Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, 1904, Pages 17-18.

V. The League exerted tremendous pressure for the formation of a juvenile court in Boston. This court was formulated and proved quite successful.[28] The author understands that the juvenile court idea as fostered by the League is one of the bases of juvenile court development throughout the United States, parts of Europe, and South America. It is rather significant to nate that the new judge of the Juvenile Court of Boston, Mr. John J. Connelly has worked diligently for the League on ~~the~~ legislative proposals concerning juvenile delinquency. His selection by the Governor was approved from all sides.

VI. The Civic League has worked and still is expending much effort towards (1) civil service reform and extension in Massachusetts, and (2) improvement of public health in the state.

VII. Chapter 502 of the 1906 Acts of the Massachusetts Legislature provided for (1) the annual testing by teachers of sight and hearing of all children in the public schools and (2) the examination by school physicians of all children who seem ill, provided the city or town appropriates the money for that purpose.[29] This is another milestone in the League's efforts to achieve social legislation.

28. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, Boston, Massachusetts, 1906, Page 13.
29. Report on Legislation, Massachusetts Civic League, 1906, Page 4.

VIII. Among the more recent trends of activities, there is a great achievement by the League in the legislation permitting co-operation among local units of government.*

> This means that neighboring towns can get together for the purchase of a powerful snowplow, for more efficient allocation of snow removal activities, for joint refuse disposal, for mosquito control, for sewerage projects, etc.[30]

This is a great aid to the smaller towns of the state.

These, then, are some of the general activities sponsored by the Massachusetts Civic League, a people's pressure group which grew from a single issue association of about sixty members living in Boston or vicinity to a membership of 1200 with residence throughout the state.[31]

* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1945, Chapter 438.

30. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, June-July, 1945, Vol. XXIII, No. IV, "Report of the Committee on the Forms of Government." (The issues of The Lens often do not have the pages numbered.)

31. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, 1901.

The Organization of the League

In order to understand completely the operation of the Massachusetts Civic League, it will be necessary to describe the organization of the League, its central executive organization, and its committee system. Before this is done, however, there is one ~~curiosity~~ oddity of organization which should be explained; there are no branches of the Massachusetts Civic League.

The fact that there are no branch offices of the League would not of itself be a curiosity, except that this present situation is the direct antithesis of the original plans of the founders of the organization. In an annual report of the Massachusetts Civic League, published in 1900, there appeared the following quotation:

> Perhaps the most important opportunity of an organization such as ours is in the sympathetic study by our members in every city and town of their local, social, and charitable institutions...For the purpose of such local study, we hope that our members in the various cities and towns of the Commonwealth (will form) themselves into branch organizations.[1]

On May 23, 1899, a branch of the Massachusetts Civic League was formed at Lowell, Massachusetts. About fifty men and women attended the meeting at which the organization was formed. The four major questions which were asked while forming the branch were: 1. What are the municipal conditions? 2. What are the agencies through which to work? 3. What are the results to be

1. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, 1900, Page 5.

expected? 4. What is the use of it (a Civic League)?

In answering the last question, the group seemed to touch the core of the problem.

> We touch the weakness of American Democracy as pointed out to us long ago and clearly by DeTocqueville and later by James Bryce, the need of an informed and organized public sentiment.[2]

With this desire in mind, the Lowell branch began its efforts to foster better civic conditions for Lowell. Their achievements do not seem to have been outstanding, for little mention is made of them in later Annual Reports. Possibly one achievement was the acquisition of permission for women to serve as overseers of the poor in Lowell.[3]

After the Annual Report of 1902, there is no further mention of the Lowell Branch of the Massachusetts Civic League; therefore, it seems safe to assume that the organization soon became extinct.[4] That it died is not of as much importance as the cause of its death. The concensus of those who have any recollections or information on this matter seems to point to these facts: 1. Instead of aiding the parent organization, it hindered it. Since the fundamental legislative unit of the state is the General Court, it is much better to exercise pressure at this level than at the municipal or county levels.

2. Annual Report, Massachusetts Civic League, 1901, Page 45.
3. Ibid., Page 15.
4. The actual date on which the Lowell branch ended its activities is unknown, as no records are known to exist which state the date.

This statement is not to be construed to infer that the Massachusetts Civic League is not interested in local affairs; the opposite is definitely true. However, the leaders feel that more can be done by unified action at the source of power, the state level.

2. The second reason for the failure of the branch seems to be financial. The Massachusetts Civic League operates on a limited budget. It needs every bit of its funds to carry on the efforts of the central organization. Thus the central body would find it difficult to aid in the support of these branches. At one time there was a field secretary attached to the Civic League who traveled extensively to various communities as an advisor in local problems. However, budgetary limitations have excluded the continuation of this policy except as a part of the present Executive Secretary's work. It is hoped that some day this position will be re-created and its value realized to the fullest degree.

Thus the unique situation exists wherein the Massachusetts Civic League, which is actively concerned with the betterment of local conditions of society, relies on one central organization located in Boston to carry out this improvement work. Just how this is achieved will be more clear after reading about the Committee System of the League.

The Central Executive Organization of the Massachusetts Civic League differs very slightly today from the original organization as stated in Chapter I. Under the present constitution of the League, which was incorporated under Massachusetts Law on October 8,1923:

> ...the officers of the organization shall be a president, two or more vice presidents, a clerk, a secretary, a treasurer, and if so voted by the Executive Committee, an associate or assistant secretary.[5]

Their duties are those of the officers of any corporation. The office of Vice-President, however, is a title of honor given for meritorious and devoted service to the Association over a period of years.

There are two committees which possess the bulk of the powers of the League: the Executive Committee and the Lesgislative and Administrative Committee. The Executive Committee consists of the officers of the League, ex officio, and not less than seven and not more than eleven members elected by the members of the League. The Executive Committee appoints the secretary and the assistant secretary. The other officers are elected for a one year period by the members of the organization at the annual meeting. However, in case of a vacancy in the office of a president, vice-president, or treasurer during a term, the office is filled by the vote of the Executive Committee.[6] The clerk of the corporation is elected by the League's membership. At this time, the

5. Constitution, Massachusetts Civic League, Article III.
6. Ibid., ArticleIV.

positions of clerk and executive secretary are held by the same person. Besides these appointive and selective powers, the Executive Committee has the following powers:

1. Those powers which are given to the board of directors of any charitable corporation under Massachusetts statutes.

2. Subject to the direction of the Association, the Executive Committee has the power to make contracts for the Association and to approve bills.

3. It has the power to audit the accounts of the secretary and the treasurer.

4. The Executive Committee submits the annual budget of the League.

5. This Committee is responsible for discovering and carrying out ways and means for financing the Civic League.[7]

6. The Executive Committee can and does act, though infrequently, as the Legislative and Administrative Committee in time of emergency. This is necessary because of the requirement that a notice containing the full agenda for a proposed meeting shall be sent to the members of the Legislative and Administrative Committee at least seven days before the date of the meeting.

The second major committee of the Massachusetts Civic League is the Legislative and Administrative Committee. This

7. Constitution, Massachusetts Civic League, Article V.

committee consists of the officers and Executive Committee, the chairmen of standing committees, ex officio, and not more than twenty-five additional members who are elected at the annual meeting. If a vacancy should occur in this Legislative and Administrative Committee, it is filled by the action of the committee itself.[8]

Perhaps the best statement of the duties of the Legislative and Administrative Committee is expressed by the League's Constitution:

> It shall be the duty of this committee to decide what legislative measures shall be supported by the League, and what steps shall be taken by the League to promote the passage or defeat of such legislation. Also to decide what activities of the League shall be undertaken for better administration and enforcement of existant laws.

The Committee can also appoint special committees to aid in effectively executing its duties.[9]

Besides the two major committees, there are twelve other committees covering practically every important phase of social and political legislation. They are: The Committee on 1. Billboards; 2. Cause and Cure of Crime; 3. Children's Welfare; 4. Education; 5. State Lottery; 6. Public Health; 7. Forms of Government; 8. Housing; 9. Public Service; 10, Public Welfare; 11. Research Committee on Special State Problems; 12. Students Committee on State Affairs. Most of the titles of the committees

8. Constitution, Massachusetts Civic League, Article VI.
9. Ibid., Article VI, Paragraph 2.

are self-explanatory. The last two committees are recent developments and will be discussed more fully later in this chapter and in future chapters.[10] A few words about the remaining committees will show the scope of the League's actions. For instance, the Committee on State Lottery is battling incessantly the efforts of a politically powerful minority to install in Massachusetts a system of state lottery to aid in raising public funds. The Committee on Public Service is actually concerned with the civil service merit system extension and other problems involving public personnel administration. The Committee on Housing[11] pays particular attention to housing conditions, veterans' housing, publicly subsidized housing for low wage income groups, uniform safety laws, need of inspection of public buildings, etc. And the Forms of Government Committee is interested in all matters of political nature effecting changes in present forms of government, election laws, absentee balloting, etc. In Chapter I of this thesis, an excellent example of their efforts is expressed by the reference to the new law permitting co-operation among local units of government.[12]

Each one of these committees acts as an independent agency to a great extent, carrying out the four functions or aims of the League: Research, Education, Legislation, and Information.

10. Infra, Chapter II, Page 30.
11. Infra, Chapter III, Page 34.
12. Supra, Chapter I, Page 16.

Miss Lyford, Executive Secretary of the League, expressed the relationship of the committees to the two major committees when she said:

> The Massachusetts Civic League is a confederation of research committees with a central clearing committee called the Legislative and Administrative Committee.[13]

Under the present setup of committees, the President of the League appoints the chairman of each committee. These choices, however, are not indiscriminate, for usually the person chosen is either a trained expert in the field or a layman who has done outstanding work along this specific field of endeavor. Perhaps a few examples will elucidate this point: Mrs. Johnson O'Connor, chairman of the Housing Committee, is a recognized authority in this field. Besides being an architect, she lectures on various problems in the field of housing. Chairman of the Committee on Education is Mr. John P. Tilton, Dean of Graduate School at Tufts College, who has done a great deal of work along secondary school lines.[14] Professor Edward R. Collier, chairman of the Public Service Committee, is a member of the staff of Boston University's Department of Government. Mr. Collier was at one time chairman of the Education Committee, has served on several commissions involving public service, and has taught Public Administration. Mr. Jarvis Hunt, chairman of the Forms of Government Committee, was formerly very active in Massachusetts politics. He has served as chairman

13. Interview with Miss Katharine Lyford, December 15, 1945.
14. Infra, Chapter III, Page 64.

of the Board of Selectmen for North Attleboro, a member of the Massachusetts Senate from 1937 to 1944, holding the presidency of the Massachusetts Senate from 1942 to 1944.

It is the duty of each chairman to choose his own committee. Again, discretion of choice is noticeable throughout. That is, if a field has a wide coverage of subjects, there is apt to be representatives of the various fields included in the make-up of the committee. For instance, on the Committee on Public Health, there will no doubt be found men who serve as public health officers in their home localities, both rural and urban. Doctors, possibly men who specialize in public health teaching, representatives of nursing activities and interests, medical social workers, social hygiene groups, etc. The head of this committee, Dr. Henry D. Chadwick, is former Commissioner of Public Health. Dr. Turner, former chairman of this committee, was advisor on public health affairs to all South America. A third member, Professor Hilliard, is the Director of the School of Public Health at Simmons College. Or, on the Education Committee, along with Chairman Tilton, can be found superintendents of schools, the secretary of the Massachusetts Teachers' Federation, representatives of different levels of education from the Nursery School to the private and public college levels.

Besides this factor of expertness, other factors enter into the choice of membership for a committee. One is a geographical dispersion. Thus the difficulty of problems which are, on the

one hand, state-wide or, on the other, purely local can be handled equally well. Another factor to be considered is the policy of keeping the Civic League non-partisan. This is particulary important on the Forms of Government Committee, as it deals so frequently with election laws, a partisan matter.[15] Therefore, there is always an equal number of Democrats and Republicans.

There is a special organization for the Children's Welfare Committee. The committee is set up on the basis of the senatorial districts of the state, thus making for forty- districts. In each of these districts are chairmen who can organize their districts as they see fit. Often the district chairman sets up sub-committees in each large town with a chairman at the head of each sub-committee. Membership in this committee may be held by actively interested members of the districts; however, there does exist an advisory committee for children's welfare which makes available to the rest of the committee advice from people qualified as social service experts.

The purpose in the discussion of this chapter is not to show specifically the working of each committee or to follow the work of one specific committee; that will be treated in the following section.[16] However, a general statement of the method

15. Infra, Chapter V, Page 67.
16. Infra, Chapter III.

of operation of the committee system is of importance and shall be presented. For simplicity a purely fictitious example will be used:

Assume that a bill concerning absentee balloting has been filed at the General Court. The Forms of Government Committee, into whose category this bill falls, immediately begins a systematic investigation of the need for the bill and a critical investigation of the provisions of the bill. They do as much research as possible on the matter, time being occasionally the limiting factor. (Time is not always such a limiting factor since the committees consist of experts and, therefore, they are usually well versed in their field; the legislative process of Massachusetts is slow, requiring a public hearing on all bills and three readings of each bill in each house; the usual run of legislation is repetitious or a variation of previous laws or bills.) Having completed this research, the committee meets and reaches a decision concerning any action which they wish to take on this bill.

Armed with this decision, the Chairman of the Forms of Government Committee appears before the Legislative and Administrative Committee.[17] The Chairman of the Forms of Government Committee presents his case in support of the decision reached by his committee. He may be questioned at any time by any of the

17. Supra, Chapter II, Pages 21 and 22.

members of the Legislative and Administrative Committee.

When the evidence has been presented completely, the Legislative and Administrative Committee may take any one of the following actions: (1) The committee may vote to support the decision of the Forms of Government Committee.* (2) They may refuse to support the stand of this committee. (3) The Legislative and Administrative Committee may vote to ask the Forms of Government Committee to continue further the investigation of the matter, to discover more pertinent facts and information. Thus, hasty action, or rather action taken in haste and repented at leisure, is prevented.

If, however, the period of time available is insufficient to permit the execution of the complete program just described, for instance, if the Legislative and Administrative Committee cannot be convened, a committee may present to a legislative committee or to influential members of the General Court opinions which reflect only the decisions of their committee, the Forms of Government Committee, to continue our example. They may state that, though they have not yet done so, the committee feels that the Legislative and Administrative Committee which represents the will of the Massachusetts Civic League, will support and endorse the stand taken by the Forms of Government Committee. Naturally, the legislators concerned do not ignore the stand of

* League action may take one of four forms: support or oppose which call for all out action; or endorse or disapprove which merely records the sentiment of the League.

one committee, even without the League's support, since this represents the work of experts, in most cases, and research often more complete than can be carried on by the individual legislators.

There is one more loophole when time is pressing: namely, the Legislative Counsel [18] of the Association can ask the Legislative Committee of the General Court to forestall action on a certain activity until such time as pertinent material can be accumulated. It is not surprising for this request to be granted since the legislators are anxious to obtain this accurate information which the League may have.

Besides its interest in legislative functions, the Massachusetts Civic League is equally interested in matters of administration of good laws, or of appointments of qualified persons to important positions. Each committee of the League watches with anxiety the nominations for each position, and even sometimes suggests candidates whom they feel to be well qualified for the position in question.[19] Thus, for example, the present commissioner of Public Welfare, Mr. Patrick A. ~~Thompson~~ Tompkins, received the endorsement of the League as being fully qualified for his office.

18. For definition of the term Legislative Counsel and an explanation of his functions, see Chapter III, Pages 48 & 49.
19. Supra, Chapter I, Page 15.

Up to this point in the description of the organization of the League, ten committees and two major committees have been under scrutiny. There are, however, two newly created committees which should be mentioned; namely, the Research Committee on Special State Problems and the Students Committee on State Affairs. Because these new committees are still somewhat in the experimental state, it is not yet completely clear what relation these two committees will have to the Legislative and Administrative Committee and the Executive Committee.

Of these two committees, the Research Committee on Special State Problems is at this time the more integrated with the organization of the League. This research committee had a rather dramatic beginning. It is the outgrowth of the expressed desire of a number of young returned war veterans to learn, as public minded citizens, of the problems of government and to take an active part in resolving them.

The course of events which led to this attitude on the part of one veteran is worth repeating. While Robert Saumseigle, at present a mechanical engineering student at Northeastern University, was being held as a prisoner-of-war in Germany, he became acutely aware of the responsibilities which attend citizenship. When he finally came back to Massachusetts, Mr. Saumseigal decided to investigate the possibility of becoming

an active citizen.

Under the guidance of Miss Lyford, Executive Secretary of the League, an informal meeting was held in November 1945. Several others, including two young women, were also present.

About one month later, the committee was formally organized. The choices for co-chairmen are characteristic of the Massachusetts Civic League's aim for leadership and expertness. Robert Saumseigle was one of the choices; Miss Eleanor Killpartrick, who has made a study of lobbying in Massachusetts, and who is at present a research assistant for a governmental research agency, was the other choice.

In a brochure issued by the League in 1946, the Research Committee on Special State Problems exists:

> to study and participate in government through conferences with state officials, work on specific problems currently needing attention, etc.[19]

At present, this committee is analyzing an initiative petition liberalizing old age assistance in the state which will be presented to the voters as a referendum question at the November 1946 election. When the research is completed, if any action is to be taken, the probability is that the chairmen will go to the Legislative and Administrative Committee for approval of its work.[20]

19. "The Committees and Their Work", Massachusetts Civic League, 1946. This brochure is available at the office of the League, 5 Joy Street, Boston.
20. For full details on this system, see supra, page

The second committee which is comparatively new is the Students Committee on State Affairs. This committee is the outgrowth of a request by the students of several public and private schools in and around Boston. They were desirous of learning by firsthand contact about their state government. The Education Committee of the League, under the leadership of Dr. John Tilton, decided to sponsor this activity as part of the committee's work.

Although the students committee is at present a sub-committee of the Committee on Education, it is growing continually, becoming more autonomous as it grows. The present organization consists of two student delegates and one faculty member from about twenty-one public and private schools. This committee acts as a steering committee for the participating student bodies. A student of Brockton High School, Miss Ruth Staupas, is the chairman. The steering committee plans meetings and discusses the policy of the group. Up to the present time, the committee has not sent specific invitations asking schools to participate. They have preferred to rely on voluntary interest. A policy which is now under discussion, however, is the question of the value of enlarging this group to include representatives of all the schools of Greater Boston, perhaps of all Massachusetts.

The actual activities of this students' committee and its value will be related in a later section.[21] The important fact here is that this Students'Committee on State Affairs seems on its way toward becoming another link between the Massachusetts Civic League and its major interest, the people of the Commonwealth.

21. Infra, Chapter V, Pages 83-85.

III

A Study of the Functions and Methods of the Civic League

Although it is quite difficult to make a clear distinction between the many types of campaigns which the League carries on, these campaigns fall within three categories: 1. the campaign of strategy or emergency; 2. the campaign of blockbusting; 3. the long range campaign. As implied in the title, the campaign of strategy or emergency is one in which time is an essential and vital factor. In this case, there may be an immediate need of certain legislative action which the Legislature has overlooked or, on the other hand, a bill may be about to be passed which has certain detrimental elements or which shows a lack of careful consideration.

One brief example of the need of immediate legislation presents itself in the activities of the Massachusetts legislative session for 1946. The Federal Government had authorized the sale of surplus emergency housing units to local governmental units. The National Government had, however, required by law that the states participating in this program must pass enabling legislation before a certain date. The deadline was approaching and the Massachusetts Legislature had done nothing about the vital matter of providing emergency housing facilities for its veterans. The Civic League became actively

interested, and, with the assistance of its Housing experts, a committee of veterans[1] and the proper legislative authorities, the bill was enacted in time to beat the deadline.[2]

Though this type of emergency action is valuable, the prevention of bad legislation is equally, if not more, important to the welfare of the people. Such a campaign was successfully waged in 1938. A complete explanation of the facts, the methods, and the result will show what organization can achieve in a limited time. In 1938, there was introduced into the Massachusetts Senate a bill, S 245, which would allow the State Teacher Training School or ~~Normal School~~ Teachers' College to grant Bachelor of Arts Degrees or Master of Arts Degrees to its students who had only been qualified for Bachelor of Science or Master of Education Degrees. Thus, without increasing the entrance requirements, the faculty, or the curriculum, the bill would have changed these schools into Liberal Arts Colleges.

When the Massachusetts Civic League became aware of the existence of the bill, it had already passed the required readings in the Senate and two of the three readings in the House of Representatives. Action began immediately. On May 27, 1938, a letter was sent to the Presidents and Deans of the colleges throughout Massachusetts by Professor Edward Collier, then Chairman of the Education Committee of the League. Professor

1. Members of a new veterans organization, American Veterans Committee.
2. Interview with Miss Katharine Lyford, February 16, 1946.

Collier's letter states:

> Would you be kind enough to advise me immediately of your opinion on S 245, a bill before the House of Representatives which would empower State Teachers Colleges to grant the degrees of B.A. and M.A. As you know, these colleges at present are training schools for teachers in grade schools and junior high schools and grant only degrees of B.S. and Education Masters. The proposal does not provide for any additional expenditure of money or any immediate changes in faculty.
> S 245 will be before the House of Representatives next Tuesday, May 31, for final disposition. I shall very much appreciate having your opinion as to whether State Teachers Colleges should continue to serve their purpose of training teachers or whether they should become Liberal Arts Colleges also.[3]

Along with the letter to the Presidents and Deans, a post card, stating the terms of S 245, was sent to all the members of the Education Committee of the Massachusetts Civic League and to interested leaders in the field of Education. The card suggests that:

> Before such a drastic change is made, the situation should be studied thoroughly. Please see your Representative before Wednesday urging him to vote for a resolve to study the situation. This resolve should be substituted for the bill.[4]

This move to delay the progress of S 245 was sucessful because on June 4, 1938 a special delivery letter was sent to the Representatives who had attended or were graduated from Boston University. Professor Collier writes:

3. Letter written by Professor E. R. Collier, May 27, 1938 as found in the Political Action Scrapbook, 1938, Massachusetts Civic League, Page 62.
4. Political Action Scrapbook, Page 63.

> On Monday, June 6, the bill to appoint a commission to study the Teachers Training Colleges and their right to give degrees will be before you on consideration. I hope very much that you will feel that you can vote for this important measure.[5]

He then quotes from a letter written June 1 by Daniel L. Marsh, President of Boston University, which states:

> I am unalterably opposed to the Legislature conferring B.A. or M.A. degree-granting powers upon our so-called State Teachers Colleges.[6]

Professor Collier's letter ends by stating:

> I hope that you may agree with me that before the Commonwealth of Massachusetts assumes responsibility for supporting the Teachers Colleges as Liberal Arts Colleges, the subject should be studied thoroughly and that you will, therefore, vote for the resolve providing for a commission to make such a study.[7]

Thus this campaign of emergency was carried out to a successful end. S 245 was defeated and bad legislation was prevented from being enacted. On June 10, 1938 a final letter was sent to certain senators who rejected S 245 in which Professor Collier wrote:

> On behalf of the Massachusetts Civic League, I wish to thank you for your help in defeating S 245...We are grateful to you for having refused to enact such legislation.[8]

5. Political Action Scrapbook, 1938, Page 67.
6. Idem.
7. Idem.
8. Scrapbook, 1938, op.cit., Page 68.

This emergency action is not limited to the creation or prevention of legislation. Another aspect which often requires immediate action is in the matter of appointments. Too often nominations for positions in the upper brackets of the civil service [illegible] are made with little consideration for the duties of the office or the qualifications of the nominee. And, since good legislation is valueless without good administration, the Civic League is constantly on guard against these ill-considered nominations. The Civic League attempts to ascertain within the time available between the nomination and final appointment if the candidate is suited to the vacancy. If not, the League exerts its efforts either to block the appointment or at least to forestall final action until all pertinent information has been presented to the proper authorities.* (It goes without saying that the opposite situation, the fostering of a good nomination, is also a function of the Association.)

In 1944, the Civic League was involved in an effort to prevent an appointment of an unfit, temporary employee to a permanent, responsible office under Civil Service. On April 4, 1944, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan District Commission of Massachusetts tried to appoint as director of the Water Division of the Metropolitan District Commission a civil engineer who had previously done some work for the Commission. This man had failed to pass an open, competitive examination. Not only was

* For League action on nominations by the Governor and Council see Pages 15 and 29.

he unable to pass the examinations, but also"there was nothing in the work which he did in connection with the Quabbin Reservoir job that should be counted as experience in connection with the job which he is now seeking." [9]

The methods used by the League to defeat this move by the Commissioner were similar to those which are used on legislative matters, the accumulation of facts and the employment of these facts to the best advantage. It is sufficient here to state that the name was not accepted or approved for the position.

These examples emphasize the fact that the League can and does act swiftly when necessary. However, the Association, even in times of emergency, retains its prime method of acting on the basis of facts; for, in the period of grace provided by the commission to study the bill, there can be no doubt that facts on all aspects were presented to the commissioners by both the Civic League and the other interested parties.

The second type of campaign, which Miss Lyford calls block-busting, is the result of different conditions; whereas, in our first type of campaign, the trouble was too hasty action, in this second type, there is apt to be too little, even no, action. In 1945, a situation existed which is quite typical of this condition. The Legislature, as a result of a referendum which had

9. Memorandum on the work of Mr. ---- while employed on the Quabbin Reservoir Job, issued May 9, 1944 by the Massachusetts Civic League.

been voted on favorably, was given the responsibility of enacting a law to provide for absentee voting for shut-ins. Several bills were proposed, one coming from the Shut-In Society, others from a multitude of sources. The result was confusion; nothing resulted; or to put it another way, a block was created. It was at this point that the Forms of Government Committee of the Massachusetts Civic League offered its services.

Acting as an agent, the committee gathered together a representative group consisting of City Clerks, Town Clerks, Democrats and Republicans, chosen from their respective State Committees.

> After a long conference they agreed that the essential safeguards were (1) a registered physician's certificate, (2) the execution of the ballot in the presence of a notary. Carefully worded amendments were drafted and incorporated into a bill which became law in July.[10]

Thus, from a state of inactivity and complete inertia on a subject requiring action, a suitable end product was derived. The interesting fact, however, is not that the law was written and passed; rather it is that the Massachusetts Civic League asked for and received little credit for breaking the block. Their satisfaction came in knowing that the need for good legislation was filled. There are numerous other examples where the League acted as a clearing house for information; an agency providing the cross section of people interested in a certain

10. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, June-July 1945, Page 8. The bill referred to became Chapter 466, Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1945.

bill; or even the agency which has framed a bill in its proper legal terms for an organization with which they have no direct affiliation.

The third principal type of campaign of the League has been arbitrarily called the long-range campaign. For instance, there are campaigns in the field of enforcement of legislation which work is continuous, i.e., the efforts of the Billboard Committee. Moreover, there are those campaigns which attempt to educate the people to the need of certain legislative action. Miss Lyford at various times has stated that one cannot precede public opinion on legislative matters. If one does, the legislation is usually repealed. An excellent example is the early efforts of the Civic League to provide for in-service training.for Police. The Police saw no need for in-service training. Only after they were shown the value of such training was any progress made toward this goal.

A third class under long-range campaigns,which will be discussed in full as a classic example of the League's perseverance, is the campaign to enact over more than a one year period a series of important measures which pertain to a specific field, for example, Child Welfare. The logic behind this method is to prevent the passage of ill-considered bills, the defeat of vital legislation, and the assurance of achieving the maximum success for a necessary program.

The example chosen concerns the Children's Commission created April 2, 1929 by Governor Frank G. Allen for the purpose of revising the laws pertaining to child welfare. Many of these laws had been written with the assistance of the Massachusetts Civic League, but no over-all revision had been undertaken in twenty-five years.

The final report of the commission took the form of sixty proposed bills.

> It seemed impossible to expect legislators to carefully consider so many measures for the care and protection of children, but Senators and Representatives rose to the occasion and many of them gave not only their time and thought but also their active support to these bills.
>
> From the first the Children's Welfare Committee (of the Massachusetts Civic League), under the leadership of their chairman, Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, and her forty Senatorial District Chairmen, gave this commission their thoughtful attention and were tireless in their efforts to organize local interest in the bills and to advise the Senators and Representatives at the State House of the keen interest shown by their constituents in these bills so essential to the care and protection of children in Massachusetts.[11]

The results of this work was the passage of thirty-two bills which can be conveniently grouped under the following headings: adoptions, child marriages, delinquent children, dependent children, desertion and non-support, detention care of delinquents, divorce, guardianship of minors, illegitimacy, mentally handicapped, Mothers' aid, neglected children, and protection of witnesses.

11. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. IX, No. 3, July 1931.

Not content with this amazing record, the Children's Welfare Committee renewed their efforts in 1932 to carry out more of the bills of the Children's Commission. Seventeen more bills were introduced. One of these bills, known as H 173, contained an important and completely new theory of law for Massachusetts; namely, the punishment of adults who contribute to the delinquency of juveniles.

The methods used to achieve success with this measure show the extensive campaign which was waged. Letters were sent to the members of the House and Senate.[12] One quotation from this letter is striking:

> Boys and Girls do not become sex perverts, bootleggers, and dealers in illicit drugs of their own free will, but are taught. Those Instructors in Delinquency and Crime must be dealt with not only as offenders against the law but as menaces to all children of the community.[13]

Letters were sent to all the members of the Joint Judiciary Committee of the General Court. The Joint Committee refused to bring in a favorable report on the bill. Nevertheless, the fight continued.

Letters were sent to the Police Chiefs of Massachusetts explaining the value of the bill. In response to the letters there were at least twenty-one favorable replies from sections of the state which ~~covered~~ extended from Williamstown to Peabody, from the State

12. These letters and other factual statements may be found in a scrapbook kept on file in the Town Room of the Massachusetts Civic League. They are assembled in a scrapbook for 1932 under the heading of the Children's Commission.
13. Idem.

Department of Public Safety to the Metropolitan District Commission Chief. Copies of these were sent to the legislators.

Included in the file which the League kept on this bill were mimeographed sheets on the good points of the bill. These were available to all who desired them. In fact, the copy enclosed in the Scrapbook for 1932 has a pencilled note to the effect that they were sent to legislators who agreed to speak on the bill.

Another mimeographed letter which was distributed by the Children's Welfare Committee had the following heading: Are Seventeen Year Old First Offenders Criminals? Included in the answers to this question were statements by: Judge Wallace Heady, District Court of Springfield; Judge Robert Walcott, Third District of Eastern Middlesex; Dr. A. Warren Stearns, Commissioner of Massachusetts Department of Correction (1932); and Reuben Lurie, lawyer, of Boston.

The League was not content with these efforts; statistics on the necessity of such a bill were drawn up and made available. Finally, Mrs. Bagley, Chairman of the Children's Welfare Committee, wrote in the Annual Report for 1934 that:

> We held speakers' classes for members of our committee who wished detailed information [about the bill] and offered to go before the organizations and explain [it].[14]

14. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XII, No. I, January 31, 1934.

Perseverance was fruitful. On March 18, 1932, Governor Joseph Ely signed H 173 or the Contributing to Delinquency Act.* In a statement issued as he signed the bill, the Governor said:

> ...I believe it (H 173) to be essential to the safety of the children of this State and to the control of conditions subversive to community decency.
>
> Boys and Girls do not become sex perverts, bootleggers, and dealers in illicit drugs of their own free will, but are taught.[15]

By re-echoing the words of the League, the Governor paid a deserving tribute to the work of the Children's Welfare Committee and to the League.

House 173 was not the only bill actively sought for during 1932. There were others such as H 171 which authorized the trial in Juvenile Sessions of certain proceedings against parents. H 172 was a bill to raise the age of the juveniles in respect to delinquency from seventeen to eighteen years; or H 174, providing for the appointment of probation officers for juvenile offenders and for establishing juvenile probation districts. Of the seventeen bills introduced in 1932, three were signed, ten received "Leave to withdraw," and four received "Next annual session."[16]

By 1934, two more bills had been passed and four more were expected to pass shortly thereafter. And so it went. The final

15. Copy of Statement and of Bill 173 in its final form as found in the Scrapbook, 1932.
16. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol.X, No. 7, April 1932.

* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1932, Chapter 95.

tally showed that, of the sixty bills proposed by the Children's Commission founded by Governor Allen, all but two were finally incorporated into the statutes. This study of the work of the Children's Welfare Committee and the efforts put forth to have the report of the Children's Commission accepted unquestionably deomonstrates the true meaning of the long-range campaign.

Not all the activities of the Massachusetts Civic League can be placed in one of the three categories which have been discussed. Much of the League's efforts is of a day to day nature. This work is carried on by the Executive Secretary of the League and an assistant. These routine duties involve the handling of correspondence, the keeping of ledgers, and the issuing of releases to the Press.

The press releases of the League are sent to all the newspapers of the State with special regard to the type of information in the statement. Matters of concern only to a specific area of the Commonwealth are sent to the newspapers of that area. Matters of state-wide importance, however, are publicized throughout the State. These press releases are of three types: releases which describe a past activity of the League; releases which announce a future activity; and releases for editorial comment.

In the first category, there are found statements of meetings which have been held, of testimonial banquets which have been given, or material of a similar nature. On February 23,

1946, the following press notice was sent to the newspapers of Boston.

> The Massachusetts Civic League honored Judge John J. Connelly, newly presiding Justice of the Boston Juvenile Court[17] at a Luncheon meeting at the City Club today....
>
> Judge Connelly spoke on "The Delinquent and the Neglected Child before the Court"[18]

Quite often the Civic League sends out press releases which announce a meeting, banquet, or lecture which is to take place at a future date. For example, the League sent to the newspapers this notice, clearly marked for release January 20, 1946. It announced a meeting for boys and girls of high school age at the Old South Meeting House which was to take place on January 23, 1946. The report stated that

> ...this is the second of a series of meetings being held under the auspices of the Students Committee on State Affairs of the Massachusetts Civic League to provide interested students with an opportunity to learn about law making and to participate in the discussion of questions now before the State Legislature.[19]

As an example of the type of material released for editorial comment, this release is significant:

> A bill which is to have a public hearing before the Legal Affairs Committee of the Legislature on Tuesday, March 5, is H 215 which would repeal the laws against fictitious lotteries.
>
> These laws (General Laws, Chapter 271, Sections 12 and 13) were passed in 1833 to protect the people against

17. Supra, Chapter I, Page 15.
18. Press Release, Massachusetts Civic League, 3 Joy Street. Katharine V. Lyford, Press Representative; Issued February 25, 1946.
19. Press Release, January 20, 1946.

> the sale of fake lottery tickets. They were enacted at a time when legalized lotteries existed and when phony or fictitious lotteries sprang up in such numbers that they proved to be a nuisance and menace.
>
> The General Court thereupon passed laws making it a crime to make, sell, or possess a false or fictitious lottery ticket, knowing the same to be false or fictitious, providing a penalty of imprisonment of not more than three years. In this way, the Legislature sought to protect the public from the sale of lottery tickets which were plain fraud or counterfeits. Later the General Court voted to abolish all lotteries.
>
> It is hard to understand why H 215 has been filed. What can it be but an open invitation to racketeers to cheat the public? The General Court should reject this outrageous proposal![20]

This press release was quoted in toto because it demonstrates the desire of the League to present the facts to the public.

Besides the ordinary routine duties which are attached to the execution of the activities of the League, the Executive Secretary and the Assistant Executive Secretary carry on almost all of the active pressure work of the association; that is, they are both eligible to appear before the Legislature, committees, and at hearings to express the opinion of the League on a certain issue.

Under Massachusetts law, there are two types of lobbyists, a legislative agent and a legislative counsel. The law defines the legislative counsel as

> ...any person who for compensation appears at any public hearing, before any committee of the General Court in regard to the proposed legislation and who does no other acts

20. Press Release, Massachusetts Civic League, February 28, 1946.

> in regard to the same except such things as are necessarily incidental to such appearance before such committee

while a legislative agent is defined as

> ...any person who for hire or reward does any act to promote or oppose legislation except to appear at public hearings before a committee of the General Court as a legislative counsel.21

Both of the two employees of the League, the Executive Secretary and the assistant, are registered as legislative counsels and legislative agents. Therefore, they both must be completely informed on the activities of the League at all times. And, they are so informed on the activities since they are the only full time employees of the League. In fact, in certain affairs, they are apt to be as well informed as the members of the committees. For example, Miss Katharine Lyford, present Executive Secretary of the League, could easily qualify as an expert in several branches of social work, especially housing, police, prison administration, and juvenile courts. Miss Lyford has worked extensively in settlement areas both in America and in Europe. She has studied juvenile court systems in many different countries, especially in Belgium, Holland, England, Denmark and Hungary.

A second function carried out by the Executive Secretary which is of great importance is the writing of the Massachusetts Civic League monthly report, The Lens. This report appears monthly except August and contains the important reports of

21. General Laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 3, Section 39.

the activities of the League during the previous month. Once a year, usually the June-July issue, an enlarged Lens is compiled which serves as the annual report of the Association. This carries a summary of the activities of each committee, the President's message, the Treasurer's report, and other information of interest to members of the League. The slogan that appears on each issue of The Lens seems quite suitable to the aims of the League: "to focus public opinion."

A third function of the Executive Secretary is to give speeches on the League, its functions, its aims and purposes and on legislative matters of interest to the people of the Commonwealth. These speeches are given to clubs and organizations on request. Often the Executive Secretary can use these lecture dates to serve a double purpose. For example, Miss Lyford went to Worcester, Massachusetts recently to fill a speaking engagement before a Women's organization. When she recognized several legislators and judges in the audience, she dropped her original subject and spoke on jury service for women, a bill now pending before the Massachusetts Legislature.

Another function which has had considerable attention recently from the Executive Secretary of the League is the direction of the work of the Students' Committee.[22] Although the Students' Steering Committee has done most of the work, Miss

22. Supra, Chapter II, Page 32.

Lyford has helped considerably in executing the details.

This student group has had several meetings in 1946, one in which the students met with and questioned the leaders of the State Legislature. The legislators explained the legislative process in Massachusetts. In turn, the legislators were questioned on various topics, such as gerrymandering, pigeonholing of bills, filibusters, recess commissions, and several other political matters.

In January 1946, the students group had an opportunity to hear a debate on the fair employment practices bill (H 400). Senator Rowe of the Massachusetts Senate debated for the bill; Senator Nicholson spoke in opposition to the bill. After they had finished, the student audience discussed the bill, pro and con.

Finally, through the efforts of Miss Lyford, the hearing on bills which would change the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years was held during a school vacation period. Many members of the Students' Committee on State Affairs not only attended, but took an active part in the procedure.

These brief remarks do not cover all the functions of the Executive Secretary. They do, however, present a picture of the diversified functions which are attached to the position.

IV

The Financing of the League

When the Massachusetts Civic League was first founded, there were no provisions in ~~their~~ its Constitution for financing the organization. The League felt that it would be able to meet its expenses by contributions, donations, and gifts. As the functions of the League increased in number and in complexity, the fallacy of this idea became obvious. The need of a full time, well trained staff, the increased cost of operation, and the greater quantity of supplies and materials now used by the Association have all tended to increase the budgetary needs to the point that membership dues had to be levied.

The expenses of the League, at the present time, are financed by contributions, endowments which have been left by public-spirited citizens, and by membership dues. There are five classes of membership. They are: Patron, Joseph Lee Associate, Civic League Associate, Sustaining Membership, and General Membership.

> On June 2, 1938, the Executive Committee of the League created the status of "Patron of the Civic League" for persons who have donated five hundred dollars ($500) in any one year.[1]

There are at present two members of the League who are listed as patrons.

The second type of membership is the Joseph Lee Associate, In November, 1937, the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts

1. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XVI, No. 4, June-July, 1938.

Civic League adopted the following resolution:

> Whereas Mr. Joseph Lee supported the Massachusetts Civic League for forty years before his death in annual amounts ranging as high as $10,000; and ...Whereas it is necessary for the maintenance of [the] work [of the Massachusetts Civic League] that the sum of at least five thousand dollars ($5,000) be raised to replace Mr. Lee's contribution and to supplement the contributions of the League members, BE IT RESOLVED that the Executive Committee hereby authorize the raising of an annual subscription fund of five thousand dollars ($5,000) to be called the "Joseph Lee Memorial Annual Subscription Fund for the Massachusetts Civic League", and that any one who subscribes two hundred and fifty dollars ($250) to this purpose for one year shall become a "Joseph Lee Memorial Associate for the Year 19--"[2]

The two classes, the Patrons and the Joseph Lee Associates contributed in 1945 $2, 450 or over one-fourth of the total receipts of $8,918.55.[3]

From the two hundred and fifty dollar Joseph Lee Associate member, there is a sharp drop to the ten dollar ($10) Civic League Associate. The class directly under that of the Civic League Associate is the Sustaining member whose dues are five dollars ($5.00)

The largest membership class in the Massachusetts Civic League is that of the General member. The Constitution[4] of the League sets the General member's dues at two dollars ($2.00) per year. Though this class is the largest numerically, the dues of its constituents do not provide sufficient funds to meet the per

2. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol.XV, No. 7, December, 1937.
3. The Lens, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, June-July, 1945.
4. The Constitution of the Massachusetts Civic League, Article VIII as amended March 16, 1936.

member expenditure of the Association. Miss Miriam Butler, Assistant Secretary of the organization, claims that the per member expenditure of the League has been estimated at about ten dollars ($10).[5]

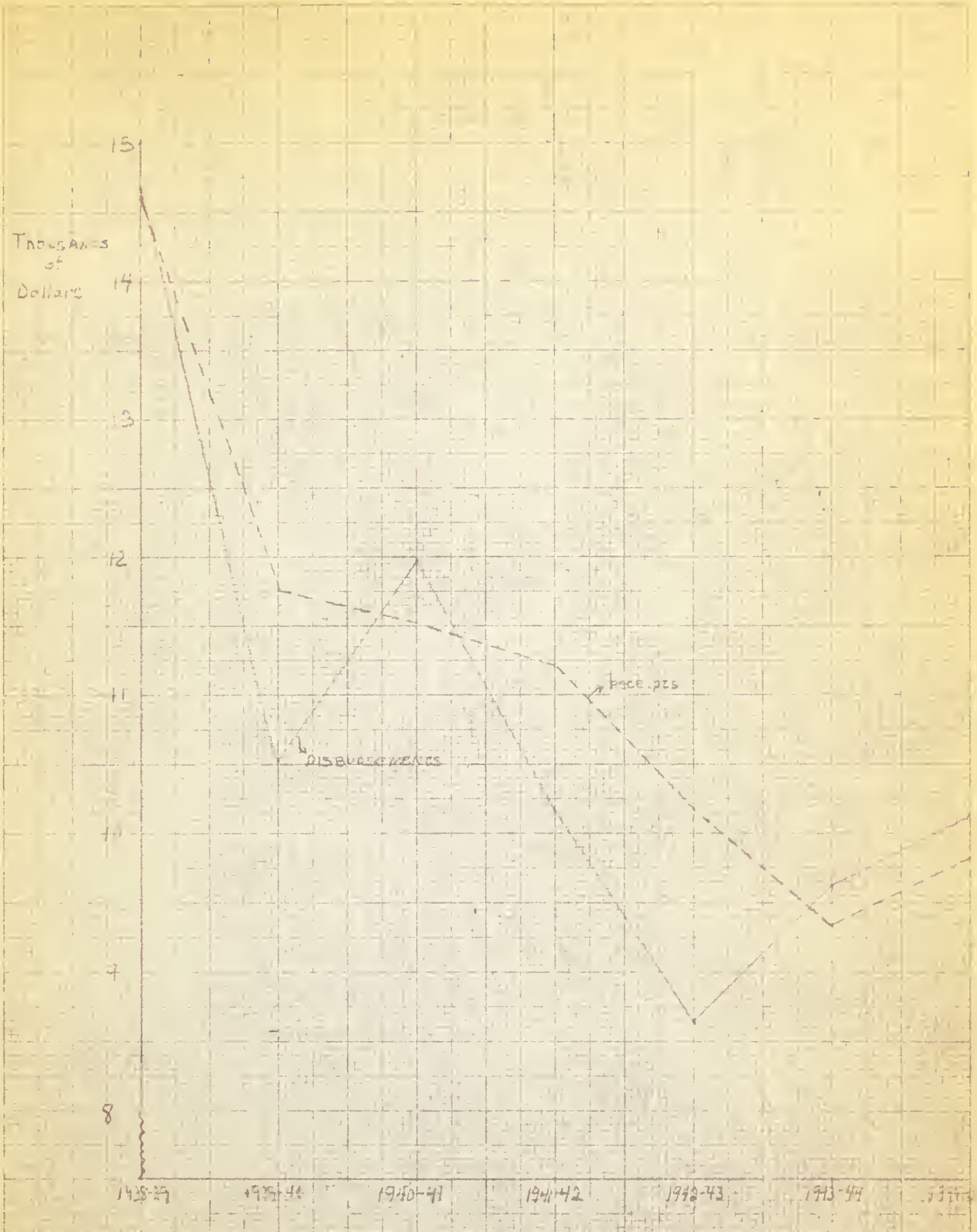
The Civic League's balance sheet lists under receipts the term contributions. This term has a specific connotation for the League. The term connotes that a member of the League has increased his membership dues to the amount of the next higher class. This method is used instead of listing the person as a new member.

The three major expenditures of the Massachusetts Civic League, are classified as overhead, salaries, and communications. These terms are practically self-explanatory; of the three classes, communications includes the most objects, such as correspondence, telephone and telegraph facilities, printing of pamphlets and The Lens. Though the receipts and expenditures vary from year to year, the proportion spent for salaries, communications, and overhead is comparatively stable. Salaries make up the largest expense item of the League; overhead and communications follow, in that order.

Each year a complete statement of income and expenses is filed as required by the law on charitable corporations with the Department of Public Welfare. Moreover, the books of the League are audited yearly by a firm of public accountants. A report is also made to the State Division of Employment Security, and, under the Federal Social Security Law, two separate reports are made to the United States Internal Revenue Office.

5. Interview, Miss Miriam Butler, March 9, 1946 at the office of the League.

In some years, the treasurer's report of the Massachusetts Civic League shows a deficit. Sometimes there will be a surplus at the end of the year. The following chart shows a comparison of expenditures to receipts for the years 1938-1945.



RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS - 1938 - 1945
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE - BOSTON, MASS.

Source: Financial Statements of the Massachusetts Civic League As Submitted To The Department Of Public Welfare - Commonwealth Of Massachusetts

V

The Activities of the Massachusetts Civic League Past, Present, and Future

The purpose of this chapter is to show an overall picture of the activities of the Massachusetts Civic League during the past years. Instead of a general survey of the League's work since its inception, recent activities and several future projects have been stressed.

The major source of the information presented in this chapter was the interviews with the chairmen and leading members of the several committees of the League. To the information received from these interviews was added supplementary material found in the records of the Massachusetts Civic League.

During the interviews, three major topics were proposed:

I. What do you consider some of the major achievements of your committee during the past years?

II. What present activities by your committee do you consider of prime importance?

III. What projects, if any, will your committee support or foster in the future?

Before turning to the interviews, there are several explanations that must be made in order to evaluate fairly the activities of the Massachusetts Civic League. First, there has been no attempt made to claim that this section covers all or

nearly all of the important activities of the League. Instead, the interviews have merely opened the topic to further research. Miss Lyford has repeatedly said that it would take years to chronicle the full achievements of the association.

Secondly, in general no committee acts in a vacuum, separated from the rest of the League. The Legislative and Administrative Committee[1] ties the committees together; when one committee acts, it acts for the whole League.

Finally, each person interviewed was reluctant to claim absolute responsibility or credit for his committee for any successful activities of the League. They stated and restated that other organizations have fostered similar objectives and that they too deserve at least a share of the credit, if credit is due anyone. On the other hand, these people have all insisted that the important fact is not who shall receive the credit; it is rather that success has been achieved.

1. Supra, Chapter 2, Page 21.

Children's Welfare Committee

In the third chapter of this thesis, the work of the Children's Welfare Committee, under the leadership of Mrs. Frederick Bagley, was explained, showing the achievements of this committee over a period of years. One of the co-workers with Mrs. Bagley during that period and thereafter was Mrs. Robert T. Bushnell. Mrs. Bushnell has become the Chairman of the committee.

In response to a question on the overall policy of her committee, Mrs. Bushnell replied, "The Children's Welfare Committee of the Massachusetts Civic League supports all legislation which benefits all the children of the Commonwealth." Mrs. Bushnell said, however, that much of their work involved the neglected and dependent child, the mentally defective child, the orphan, and the delinquent.

"That is why," said Mrs. Bushnell, "that the work of our committee is so concerned with the activities of the Public Welfare Committee and the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee. I feel that these committees must work closely together for their mutual benefit."

One of the major achievements which Mrs. Bushnell's committee participated in recently was the acquisition of suitable facilities for housing the dependent and neglected children who are taken by the State. When these children are taken by the State,

they must be held for some time until they are either placed in foster homes or in institutions. Regardless of the area from which they come, these children are usually brought to the State House and kept there until action can be taken.

For many years these children were placed in a room in a sub-basement of the State House. This room had no windows, no toilet facilities, no means of preparing food for these children, many of whom were dirty, hungry, and often diseased. "Only through a process of nibbling, carried out over a long span of years, were we able to accomplish any progress towards our goal: suitable quarters for these needy youngsters."

In 1945, Governor Tobin became interested in this problem. Action began immediately. New quarters which were palatial compared to the previous abode were found in the State House. There are now two big sunny rooms, with two lavatories, a kitchen, and a competent staff to care for these children when they are brought in. Furthermore, provisions are being made for separate quarters for the children outside of the State House. Mrs. Bushnell also added that there is a move to set up similar quarters in various parts of the State in order to handle problems as they arise in the several parts of the State.

Another project which the Children's Welfare Committee carries on in connection with this problem of dependent and neglected children is to provide the children who are unable to

have Christmas at home with a Christmas party. This party is held yearly in the Children's Room of the State House. The presents are donated by the public and private schools of Boston area; some are purchased by contributions by the League's membership. One thousand gifts are distributed each year.

One of the major activities of the Children's Welfare Committee during the recent war period was to see that the Child Labor laws of the State were not violated. These laws were by necessity relaxed; the problem was to keep them from being completely disregarded. Mrs. Bushnell told of cases of small children going from Massachusetts to Connecticut to work in the tobacco fields. Now that the emergency is over, the committee is urging that the laws be executed as written in the statutes.

Another activity in which the Children's Welfare Committee participated is a study of the effect of moving pictures on children. Mrs. Bushnell explained the scientific research which was carried on throughout the country. That committee was interested in the results which showed the susceptibility of adolescents to the influence of movies. Therefore, the Children's Welfare Committee has fought and is continuing to urge the producers to make better grade pictures.

As a future activity , the Children's Welfare Committee is interested in an investigation of the adoption laws of the Commonwealth. These laws need revision and clarification.

Mrs. Bushnell feels also that there is a need for more and better housing and school facilities for the mentally defective child. Mrs. Bushnell stated that there is a tremendous need for a complete investigation of the existing schools for mentally defectives. She claims that, as a result of the scarcity of labor, there have been cases of violation of the Child Labor laws in our own state institutions. "Since the Civic League has no ax to grind," said Mrs. Bushnell, "I hope that we shall be able at least to aid in such an investigation."

Public Service Committee

In previous sections of this thesis, the name of Dr. Edward R. Collier has appeared several times. Dr. Collier formerly served as Chairman of the Education Committee of the League. For the past five years, however, he has been serving as the Chairman of the Public Service Committee. His committee is quite active; it is one of the few committees of the League which have created general policy, this policy receiving the approval of the Legislative and Administrative Committee.

During the interview, Dr. Collier stated that the policy of the Public Service Committee is:

> To defend the integrity of the merit system against all assaults by forces favoring special privileges for groups or individuals and to improve its practical operation in detail.

To cooperate with the Director of Civil Service and the Commission in the enactment and enforcement of effective civil service rules in conformity with law.

To cooperate with other committees of the Association when common interests are involved.

To introduce bills for the improvement of the public service.[2]

Dr. Collier stated examples to show that these policies are actually carried out. In speaking of the second plank of the policy, Dr. Collier stated that Ulyses Lupien, former Director of Civil Service in Massachusetts, met with his committee several times during his term as Director. Dr. Collier added that Mr. Lupien is now a member of the Public Service Committee.

In the case of an attempted appointment to an important position in the Metropolitan District Commission, which would involve control of sources of drinking water, Dr. Collier's committee and the Public Health Committee worked cooperatively to defeat the appointment.[3]

In 1945, the Public Service Committee unfortunately lost one of its major fights. The committee was the sole opposition to the bill that removed the custodians of the Boston schools from the jurisdiction of civil service. This bill was introduced and passed in spite of judicial decisions which supported the position of the League.

2. Interview with Dr. Edward R. Collier at Boston University, March 25, 1946.
3. Supra, Chapter III, Page 38.

In 1946, the Legislative and Administrative Committee approved the following specific policy of the Public Service Committee:

To oppose bills that

I. Remove age and/or educational requirements
II. Extend veterans preference in promotions and separations from the public service;

To support bills that

I. Would bring employees of counties under civil service;*

To endorse bills that

I. Extend civil service to certain local positions, providing qualifying examinations are required for the incumbents and for competitive civil service examinations for the selection of their successors.
II. Extend generally the merit system in the public service, subject to the qualifications in the foregoing policies.[4]

By the formulation of such a general policy, Dr. Collier felt that his committee could work more rapidly and with greater assurance that the Legislative and Administrative Committee would support the actions of the Public Service Committee.

Rather than attempt to point out specific achievements of his committee, Dr. Collier suggested that the Legislative Scoreboard of the activities of the Public Service Committee would demonstrate more effectively the work of his committee. The following is the results of the 1945 activities of the Public Service Committee:

* With qualifying examinations.
4. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol.25,No. 2, March 1946.

The following principles were enacted:

> There was a report made by the Recess Commission on Civil Service. The Report made thirty-five recommendations for the improvement of the civil service law and submitted bills to provide for such improvements.
>
> Bills to place certain labor positions in state departments under civil service are consistent with good civil service procedure and merit approval.
>
> When provisions are made for a qualifying examination, we [the Civic League] endorse measures placing local positions under civil service.
>
> To place certain employees in Salem [Massachusetts] under civil service.[5]

The following provisions were ordered to study. The League supported this action.

> To increase the salary of the Commissioner of Public Health
> To increase the salary of the Commissioner of Correction.

Bills successfully defeated:

> A bill to prohibit the establishment of maximum age limits on civil service examinations was defeated.
> A proposal to place certain employees of the Metropolitan District Water Commission under civil service without competitive examinations was withdrawn.
> Six bills extending veterans preference which we believe would impair civil service are: to extend the benefits of veterans' preference to widows of the present war; to grant extra points in examinations for every six months of military service and certain other benefits; to provide absolute preference in cases of separation from state services; to provide absolute preference for veterans in promotions; to provide that veterans may not be removed when any non veteran is retained.[6]

The Legislative Scoreboard shows quite well the stands that the Public Service Committee has taken in pursuit of their policy.

Dr. Collier stated that, in the future, he hoped that his com-

5. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, September-October 1945.
6. Idem.

mittee would be able to continue "to safeguard the merit system in Massachusetts public personnel administration, and to study methods of improving the civil service."[7]

Education Committee

As Dean of Tufts College Graduate School and of the School of Education at that institution, Dr. John P. Tilton is quite aware of the educational needs of the Commonwealth. Therefore, as Chairman of the Education Committee of the Massachusetts Civic League, he brings to his committee the double advantage of administrative and teaching experience.

Speaking briefly of the overall activities of his committee, Dean Tilton stated that his committee reviewed all legislation which affected the educational activities of Massachusetts and all appointments which were made to positions in the major educational agencies of the Commonwealth. He added that usually these reviews were limited to state-wide educational problems; the committee tries not to become involved in purely local problems. Dr. Tilton did amend this statement somewhat by explaining that his committee had recently spent some time in studying the Strayer Report, an independent research project which dealt with the school system of the City of Boston. The Education Committee's interest in this report, however, was restricted to

7. From a brochure issued by the Massachusetts Civic League in 1946 entitled The Massachusetts Civic League.

the sections which explained the functions of a school board.

In recent years, the Education Committee has been actively interested in several important legislative bills; one of these was the Junior College Bill.* A recess commission, of which Dean Tilton was a member, was appointed to draw up standards for the junior colleges of Massachusetts. This commission made recommendations for the minimum physical facilities, faculty, and library facilities. Junior colleges were given the right to grant associate degrees if they met these basic requirements. In the final effort to have the report of the recess commission accepted, Dean Tilton's committee was very actively and, in the end, very influential in the acceptance of the report.

A second recent major interest of the Education Committee was the investigation of the Massachusetts Youth Study Report. This report supported the creation of a board which would study job opportunities for the youth of the Commonwealth; it would act as a vocational guidance agency for the youth of the State. According to Dean Tilton, the League supported the proposals because they realized the need of such a state agency. Dr. Tilton added that too often the teacher who is appointed vocational guidance officer of the school is not properly trained for such a position. Although a law** was enacted which incorporated the general principles of the study, the agency has yet to fulfill its duties. Thus far it has been mainly an advisory group for

* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1943, Chapter 549.
** Ibid., 1941, Chapter 646.

local authorities. The execution of the provisions of this law has been further hampered by a serious lack of funds.

In 1945, the Civic League participated in the achievement of an important advance in Massachusetts education by supporting the creation of a Board of Collegiate Authority;* this board is to administer the problems of higher education. The Education Committee of the association was successful also in 1945 in their support of laws which would provide for the education of certain physically handicapped children.

Among the future projects in which the League is interested is a proposal for a State Board of Education. The existing agency does not have sufficient authority to execute properly the duties for which it is responsible. One of the provisions of this proposed State Board of Education is that it would be empowered to appoint the state Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner would be responsible to the board.

At present, the Governor picks the Commissioner who is then confirmed by the Governor's Council. This system makes the appointment somewhat political and destroys continuity of policy by frequent changes in commissioners. Dean Tilton claimed that the new policy would allow non-partisan appointments, more chance for the appointment of an expert, and a more continuous policy.

* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1945, Chapter 549.

At the close of the interview, Dean Tilton reiterated that his committee is very interested in good appointments. He mentioned the recent appointment of a new Commissioner of Education by the Governor:

> We realized that we could not hope to have the incumbent reappointed; therefore, we did the next best thing by supporting the best one of the candidates for the position.[8]

Finally, one activity for which the Education Committee is responsible is the formation of the Students' Committee on State Affairs whose activities are discussed elsewhere in this thesis.[9] Dr. Tilton remarked, however, that "the majority of the success of this project is due to the tremendous interest and activity of our Executive Secretary, Miss Katharine Lyford."[10]

Forms of Government Committee

About ten years ago when the Forms of Government Committee was organized, one of the members of that committee was Mr. L. B. Phister; today he is still one of the members actively interested in this committee.

Before answering the question as to the past achievements of the committee, Mr. Phister was careful to reiterate the statement of so many other members of the League; namely, that it is very difficult to decide the specific amount of influence that

8. Interview with Dean John P. Tilton, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts, March 27, 1946.
9. **Supra**, Chapter II, Page 32, Chapter III, Page 50.
10. Idem.

his committee's action had on any legislative action. Nonetheless, he feels that his committee has been quite instrumental in the passage of certain legislation; and, he is also certain that the Forms of Government Committee has successfully guarded against "sly political moves." 11

Being more specific, Mr. Phister claimed that the Forms of Government Committee was very active in the passage of the bill which legalized the use of Proportional Representation as a method of balloting.* He stated that Mr. H. C. Loeffler of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau had filed a bill in 1936 requesting Proportional Representation for Boston. When this failed to pass, Mr. Loeffler urged the Forms of Government Committee to endorse a bill which would allow any local unit to use P.R. if it desired.

After a few years of defeat, and by compromising with the opposition to the extent that Boston was made ineligible for P.R., the bill was enacted. The importance of this law becomes greater when it is realized that this was a necessary basis to the creation of the optional Plan E form of local government - the Council-City Manager form under which the council is elected by Proportional Representation and the manager is appointed and can be removed by the council. **

Another activity of the Forms of Government Committee in recent years was in the field of registration of voters. Mr.

11. Interview with Mr. L.B. Phister, March 19, 1946.
* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1938, Chapter 341.
** Ibid., 1938, Chapter 378.

Phister said that the present Massachusetts system of registering voters is clumsy and inadequate. When a person registers, identifying information is entered on a single line in bound volumes, and the registrant signs his name on the same line. After a short time it becomes difficult to consult the original registration for any purpose.

According to Mr. Phister, his committee favored a system of registration on duplicate registration files. These cards would contain complete information on the registrant; moreover, the voter would sign both cards. Then one card would be put into the master file, while the other would be used at the polls to identify the voter. This could be kept up to date simply by removing or inserting cards in the proper place.

Finally, in order to receive the ballot, the person must sign his name on an application form. The signature would be made under the penalty of perjury. The signature could be compared with that of the duplicate registration card, and thus greatly reduce the opportunity of illegal voting. Signature voting is now in use in many states and is recommended by leading authorities on election procedure.

The enabling act for this new system of registration has been passed* but no appropriations have been made as yet to carry out the provisions. Mr. Phister stated that the execution of this new idea would no doubt be one of the major concerns of the Forms of Government Committee in the future.

* Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1939, Chapter 450.

Other important matters which have concerned the Forms of Government Committee in the past are: the return to annual sessions of the Legislature from the previous plan of biennial sessions; the blocking of an attempt by Middlesex County to withdraw from the County Personnel Board, which would have meant the return of pork barrel politics;[12] the passage of a law which allows for the cooperation between governmental units;[13] and the laws by which Shut-In Voters are now allowed to cast absentee ballots.[14]

Mr. Phister said that he felt that one of the most important activities which would interest his committee in the future is the extension of and application of the Cooperation between Local Units Law. Mr. Phister spoke of cooperation in terms of police protection, joint ownership of fire engines, chemicals, and other important equipment which individual small towns cannot now afford.

Mr. Phister also stated that the Forms of Government Committee is not attempting to set up a goal of future politics; the committee will, however, attempt to guard against the passage of poor election law or laws which are detrimental to the governmental structures of the Commonwealth.

12. For details of this matter, see The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol. XXV, No. 1, Janaury 1946.
13. Supra, Chapter I, Page 16.
14. Supra, Chapter III, Page 40.

Housing Committee

Having served for many years as a member of the State Board of Housing and more recently as chairman of that agency, Mr. Philip Nichols could well qualify as an experienced member of the Committee on Housing of the Massachusetts Civic League. It was Mr. Nichols who introduced the bill that would allow Massachusetts to purchase from the Federal Government temporary housing units for the use of returning veterans.[15]

Mr. Nichols mentioned during the interview the fact that the League was particularly active in 1938 in its support of a law which would allow the cities and towns of Massachusetts to take advantage of federal housing funds which were available under the Wagner-Steagall Act of 1937. This was the beginning of slum-clearance in the larger cities and the impetus that provided low cost housing for the families with moderate incomes.

One bill for which the League worked industriously was enacted in 1945 as the Urban Redevelopment Corporation Law.[16] This law permits corporations to be formed specifically for the purpose of erecting housing units in urban areas which have been declared decadent areas. The law states, however, that:

> every such corporation shall be deemed to have been organized to serve a public purpose, and shall remain at all times subject to reasonable rules and regulations of the housing

15. Supra, Chapter III, Page 34.
16. General Laws of the Commonwealth, Tercentenary Edition, Chapter 121A.

> board....They (the stock holders) shall at no time receive from the corporation for their investment sums in excess of their original investment and cumulative dividends at the rate of six per centum per year.[17]

The act defines, of course, the types of corporations which may participate, and the term "decadent area;" to repeat these definitions would serve no purpose here. According to Mr. Nichols the most important features of the act are that necessary housing units can be built by private corporations without suffering from excessive taxation; yet these corporations will receive only a limited return on their investment, thus eliminating the possibility of exploitation. Thus, both the investor and the area in which the decadent property exists receive mutual benefit.

As mentioned in Chapter III[18] some relief for the veterans housing problem has been enacted. There are, however, several parts of the original bill, H 140, which have not been enacted. These, according to Mr. Nichols, must be made law very soon if the emergency is to be alleviated. The bill states:

> During the present housing emergency a city or town may raise, appropriate, or expend money and take such other action as is suitable and necessary for the purpose of providing shelter for veterans who are inhabitants of such city or town by any or all of the following methods.[19]
>
> a. by establishing information centers where available dwelling units can be listed.
> b. by making a survey of the available units.
> c. by purchasing, leasing, or acquiring by eminent domain buildings and parts of buildings to be rented at reasonable rates.

17. General Laws, Chapter 121A, Sections 8 and 9.
18. Supra, Chapter III, Pages 34 and 35.
19. Proposed legislation for 1946, House 140, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, section III, Page 16.

d. by acquiring by lease or eminent domain land to be used by veterans for temporary housing sites.
e. by purchasing, acquiring by gift or by lease ships or vessels to be used as temporary housing units.
f. by taking by eminent domain the dwelling, occupied by a veteran but not owned by him, from which the veteran is about to be evicted, and renting it to him at the same rent as he had previously paid.[20]

The Housing Committee of the Civic League is anxious to have the provisions of this bill enacted as soon as possible.

Mr. Nichols stressed the fact that his committee is anxiously watching the outcome of federal legislation on the matter of housing. They know that any future housing activity by the State will have to take into consideration the provisions of such federal laws in order to qualify for federal funds.

Finally, Mr. Nichols stated that his committee was anxious to see the passage of legislation which would set up minimum standards for one and two family houses throughout the State.

Cause and Cure of Crime Committee

Judge John Connelly of the Boston Juvenile Court has been an active member of the Massachusetts Civic League's Cause and Cure of Crime Committee for a number of years. His major interest while on the committee was the problem of juvenile delinquency. The advent of the war brought the problem of juvenile delinquency to the fore, and Judge Connelly was asked to participate in the work of the League and to aid them in handling this important problem. Under the sponsorship of the League, Judge Connelly

20. House 140, Passim, Pages 16-18.

carried on a study of the effect of the war on children; the title of his study was "The Effect of War on the Youth of Massachusetts."

Recently Judge Connelly's committee and the Civic League as a whole made a study of the Youth Correction Authority Act which had been proposed by the American Lawyers Institute. This act was concerned with the problem of dealing with the delinquent of the upper age groups, those delinquents who are habitual or those who had been accused of crimes of a more serious nature. The Cause and Cure of Crime Committee called in representatives of the various agencies which would be affected by the law and those who would have to administer the provisions of the law; together they examined the provisions, pointing out the good points and showing the weaknesses which existed. Among other things, the committee discovered that the law had been introduced into the State of California and had not been very successful.

During the interview, Judge Connelly mentioned that the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee was actively interested in the moveto put into effect a better system for keeping records of pre-delinquents. Before the new method was created, a juvenile could be arrested for a crime in one area of the city and be released as a first offender. Since no way existed of passing on the knowledge that the person had been a first offender and had been released as such, this juvenile could be released many times

as a first offender. Although the law has been passed which corrects this situation, it has not yet been put into effect. This is a project which the committee will watch in the future.

Not all the work of the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee is concerned with juvenile delinquency. Judge Connelly stated that the committee had assisted the police departments by drawing up the list of qualifications for police women. He also stated that his committee had studied the wages and rating scales of police departments.

In the early days of the League, one of the major studies carried out was on the problem of drunkenness. In 1944 the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee held a special meeting to review this earlier work and to make recommendations to a Recess Commission on Drunkenness.

One of the problems which the committee is now interested in is the move to create a new State Prison for the Commonwealth. The Cause and Cure of Crime Committee has, with the consent of the Legislative and Administrative Committee of the League, made suggestions which they feel will improve the penal institution of the Commonwealth. They urged the following:

1. Make Concord Prison serve as a maximum security prison as it was originally intended.
2. Build a Reformatory instead of a maximum security prison.
3. Build a hospital for the criminally insane.

Though this list is incomplete, it does give an idea of the policy of the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee on this important matter.

Judge Connelly stated that the problems of prisons, of juvenile delinquency, of correction, and of parole will require constant research and study in the future.

Billboard Committee

One of the first committees of the Massachusetts Civic League was the Billboard Committee. References to their work go back to the year 1898. Today, almost fifty years later, the Billboard Committee is still active. Mr. Gorham Dana, a civil engineer and the present Chairman of the Billboard Committee, has been active on this committee for over eight years. He has the qualifications for the chairmanship in that he is also the Chairman of the Town Planning Board of Brookline, Massachusetts.

During a brief but informative interview, Mr. Dana explained the activities of the Billboard Committee. He stated that the work of the committee is a continuation of the Billboard Defense Committee, which was led by Mr. Horace B. Gale, Professor of Engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This committee, which protected the open country scenes of historic interest and public parks from exploitation through billboards, was started in 1926 to fight the attempt by the opponents of the existing billboard law, the owners and the advertisers, to have

the state law declared unconstitutional. This fight continued for several years, eventually going to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the end, the law was upheld by this court.

As a sidelight to this issue, Mr. Dana told an interesting story of a billboard which was illegally placed on a building on Beacon Hill, Boston. He claimed that this billboard was an eye-sore, not only to the residents but also to the members of the State Legislature. During the whole period that the billboard law was being disputed, the sign remained; it was only after the Supreme Court had decided in favor of the bill that the billboard was removed.

Mr. Dana stated that, at present, the activities of the Billboard Committee of the League are concerned mostly with seeing that the provisions of the billboard law are enforced.* The committee is also continually on guard against bills that would be in violation of the original law. A third function is to have billboards removed that are illegally placed or of an illegal nature.

Mr. Dana stated:

> Billboards are legal in a business district; the problem, however, is that, since the control of billboards is under the Department of Public Works, this department claims for itself the sole right to decide what is a business district. In one case, they called four miles of open country with no buildings a business district.

* Billboards are regulated by Chapter 93 of the General Laws of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Dana continued:

> We claim that, since the State has passed enabling legislation permitting cities and towns to create their own zoning laws, the local government should have the final right to decide what is a business district and where billboards are illegalin their own community.[21]

Another activity of the Billboard Committee is to urge the removal of illegal billboards. Though the committee has been successful in many cases, it does not always succeed. Mr. Dana cited an excellent example of a failure:

For many years the Civic League and other interested parties had striven unsuccessfully to have eight illegal billboards removed. These billboards were not in a business district, were in a park area, and were not three hundred feet from any park area, all requirements for making the billboard legal.

In 1945 the owners of these billboards introduced a bill into the Legislature which would exempt from the provisions of the billboard law any billboard which had been at the junction of Riverway and Brookline Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The bill did not specifically name these billboards, but at the same time that the bill was introduced, there were very few other billboards which would be affected by its provisions! All this activity was conducted at a time when a case was pending in the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth which involved these eight billboards. Furthermore, the case had been decided in the Superior Court against the owner, the Donnelly Advertising Corporation.

21. Interview with Mr. Gorham Dana, March 21, 1946.

In spite of press releases, lobbying, speeches, and other legal activities, the work of the Billboard Committee was in vain. The eight billboards were declared exempt from the billboard law. Mr. Dana said that billboards do have value in their proper place. He stated, however, that the billboards are often a highway hazard and a blight on the scenic beauty of the State. Mr. Dana expressed the hope that the provisions of the existing laws will be enforced in order to eliminate billboards as a highway hazard and as a detriment to the natural scenic beauty.

Public Health Committee

The present Chairman of the Public Health Committee is Dr. Henry Chadwick, formerly Commissioner of Public Health for the State of Massachusetts. At present, he is the Superintendent of the Cambridge Tuberculosis Sanitarium. His career has been intertwined with public health service; therefore, he is well qualified to act as a leader of this committee. Dr. Chadwick has served in public offices on both the state and county levels.

Before discussing the past activities of the Public Health Committee, Dr. Chadwick made clear that his committee does not at any time speak for the League without the approval of the Legislative and Administrative Committee. He stressed the fact that his committee acts as a clearing house on the bills which pertain to public health and advises the Legislative and Administrative Committee on what action should be taken by the League.

Thus, when his committee speaks or acts, it speaks for the whole membership of the League whose wishes have been expressed by the Legislative and Administrative Committee.[22]

The activities which the Public Health Committee has carried out in the past have concerned a variety of subjects. One important bill which has been constantly opposed is the repeal of the compulsory vaccination law. This bill is one which appears perennially; thus far opposition has been successful.

In 1943, the Public Health Committee worked with interested individuals on the problems of school supervision and the mandatory dietary enrichment of bread. The latter issue is now before the Legislature and has received no opposition thus far.

Dr. Chadwick spoke of the importance of continuing and improving the standards of medical education of the Commonwealth. His committee has opposed for many years the operation of those medical schools which do not meet the basic standards of the American Medical Association. One of these,schools, Middlesex Medical School, attempted in 1945 to obtain legislation which would exclude it from the approving authority of the Commonwealth (the secretary of the State Board of Registration in Medicine, the Commissioner of Public Health, and the Commissioner of Education.) This school had had eight years to meet the approval of the authority. The Public Health Committee of the League was one

22. This situation holds true, of course, for the actions of all the committees.

group which was instrumental in the defeat of the bill.

Dr. Chadwick's committee was actively interested in opposing the bills which would permit the Boston School of Pharmacy to grant degrees. This school lacked the proper facilities for study; chemical supplies, microscopes, library facilities. These bills were defeated.

At present, the Public Health Committee is interested in opposing the anti-vivisection bills, bills which prohibit the use of animals for medical research. The committee is also actively interested in the laws which would create a Board of Chiropractors separate from the State Board of Registration in Medicine. This is a move which would lower the standards of medicine in the Commonwealth, it is claimed.

Since the League does not often attempt to formulate legislation in advance of the action by the Legislature, Dr. Chadwick could not predict the future actions of this committee. He did state, however, that the Public Health Committee will continue to seek better standards of medical education. Dr. Chadwick feels that the Public Health Committee's major policy for the future is to continue to guard against legislation and appointments in the field of public health which would be detrimental to the people of the Commonwealth.

Public Welfare Committee

One of the most recently formed committees of the Association is the committee on Public Welfare. This committee was formed in 1944 at the request of the Commissioner of Public Welfare, Mr. Arthur Rotch. Because of its comparatively short length of existence, the committee has few major achievements to its credit. Moreover, since the work of the Department of Public Welfare of Massachusetts includes the activities of welfare which pertain to children, the work of the Children's Welfare Committee of the League should be closely tied to the Committee on Public Welfare and to the over-all problem.

At present, Mr. Rotch who has recently retired from public office is a member of the League's Committee on Public Welfare. As a representative of his committee, Mr. Rotch stressed the importance of the League's standing on the present old age assistance bills. The Public Welfare Committee has decided as a general policy to oppose bills that do not meet the requirements for federal conformity, thus resulting in a loss of federal reimbursements. It has also decided to oppose any bill that proposes a minimum or maximum amount of assistance, believing such assistance should be based on the need of the recipient. The committee has voted to oppose any move to abolish compulsory support of parents by their children.

Mr. Rotch stressed the importance of considering the standards of the Federal Government before passing any state legislation since the states alone could never cope with the tremendous responsibility of oldage assistance. He mentioned that one of the major problems of the future entails this important problem of federal-state relationship; that is, the O'Donnell referendum which will be discussed in a later section.[23]

One progressive move in the public welfare field is being endorsed by the League and the Committee on Public Welfare; that is, to permit certain aliens, who are otherwise eligible, to receive old age assistance.

In answer to the future in public welfare, Mr. Rotch stressed the importance of the question of the adoption laws of the Commonwealth. He stated that he did not doubt that the Children's Welfare Committee of the League would be interested in this matter. This matter is under consideration by a commission; Mr. Rotch hoped that there would result more stringent, clearer laws on this important problem.

Another member of the Public Welfare Committee, Mr. Rollo Barnes, who was at one time an assistant to Commissioner Rotch summed up the value of the League to the public welfare activities of the state when he described the League as a "useful watch dog" in matters concerning public welfare. [24]

23. Chapter V, Page 83.
24. Interview with Mr. Rollo Barnes, March 18, 1946.

Research Committee on Special State Problems

As one of the more recently formed committees, the Research Committee on Special State Problems[25] has thus far concentrated on one major problem, analysis of the initiative petition on old age assistance which will appear on the 1946 state ballot. This initiative petition proposes several major changes in the present old age assistance program:

1. to separate old age assistance from the State Department of Public Welfare and the local welfare boards and to establish an independent state old age pensions commission which would administer entirely the program.
2. to raise the minimum income of an old age assistance recipient from $40 per month to $48 per month.
3. to eliminate entirely compulsory contributions to the support of their parents by children.
4. to change the term old age assistance to the term old age pension although the program will continue to be based on need.

In carrying out the analysis, the committee compared the petition with the present law; collected statistics on old age assistance in the home towns of the individual members; interviewed a former member of the State Department of Public Welfare, Mr. Rollo Barnes, and the Chairman of the Board of Public Welfare

25. Supra, Chapter II, Pages 30 and 31.

in the Town of Easton, Representative Albert E. Wood. Lastly, the committee prepared the major arguments for and against the initiative petition.

The results of this analysis will be turned over to the Legislative and Administrative Committee for further action. At present the Research Committee on Special State Problems is contemplating an examination of the recent report on Massachusetts prisons by Warden Lewis E. Lawes.

Lottery Committee

The December 1940 issue of the Lens of the Massachusetts Civic League reported to the members of the organization that Mr. Sydney M. Williams had accepted the chairmanship of a newly created committee to oppose the establishment of a State Lottery.[26] The appointment of Mr. Williams to a post of responsibility was not a novel idea to the members of the League. Mr. Williams has been a member of the League since 1931. During that time, he has served on many committees, including the Cause and Cure of Crime Committee.

In 1936, Mr. Williams was elected to the position of treasurer of the organization. He served in that capacity for five years. When Henry R. Atkinson entered the armed forces in 1941, Mr. Williams was elected to succeed him as President of the Massachusetts Civic League.

26. The Lens, Massachusetts Civic League, Vol.XVIII, No.9, Dec.1940.

As Chairman of the Lottery Committee, Mr. Williams has kept constantly on the watch for bills which would legalize the establishment of a state lottery. When the issue first arose, the idea was to finance the needs of the old age assistance program from the receipts of a state lottery. Then, at one time the proposal was made that the state lottery be used to finance a public works program.

In the last two years, 1945-46, the move has been to finance the cost of a state bonus for the veterans of World War II. In March, 1946, the Civic League was one of the few groups who appeared at a legislative hearing in opposition to the most recent move to increase the state bonus by a lottery.

Mr. Williams' committee bases its stand against a state lottery on the following arguments:

1. The odds against winning are enormous; millions buy tickets and never win.
2. Lotteries breed corruption. Previous lotteries which have existed have resulted in bribery of legislators and political corruption.
3. Lotteries take money away from those who need it most for the necessities of life.
4. Instead of discouraging the existence of illegal lotteries, they encourage it.
5. When lotteries exist, they fall into the hands of racketeers.
6. Lotteries induce vice, idleness, immorality...they are against the common good.

7. No other state in the United States allows lotteries except Nevada.[27]

In response to the question concerning the future of his committee, Mr. Williams felt that the work of the Lottery Committee would continue for many years until the threat of the adoption of a State Lottery is gone. He added that this is still a distant possibility.

A Message from the President of the League

As president of the Massachusetts Civic League, Mr. Williams is in an excellent position to be aware of the overall activities of the League. Therefore, in answer to the question, "What do you consider the value of the Massachusetts Civic League?", Mr. Williams stated with authority that:

> The purpose of the Massachusetts Civic League is to meet what is perhaps the most urgent need under our form of government.
> In the early days, with a smaller population, fewer legislative bills, less complex legislation, and with personal knowledge of candidates, the average voter could act more intelligently than is now possible.
> Today only a small proportion of the voters know even the names of their state senators and representatives. Titles of bills are frequently misleading. A total of more than 2,000 are introduced every year. Highly organized pressure groups attempt to influence legislation for their own interests.
> The League stands for the public interest. It is non-partisan, non-sectarian. It seeks (1) sound administration of existing laws; (2) to meet needs through good legislation; and (3) appointment of qualified personnel to public office.

27. Pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Civic League, 1946, entitled "Does Massachusetts Want A Lottery? No!"

> To sum up, we can point not only to many definite constructive achievements in the last forty-eight years but also much has been accomplished by preventing bad legislation and the appointment of unqualified personnel. One great value of the League is that it is known to be actively in touch with what is going on from day to day and that it can bring the facts of the situation to public attention immediately, together with suggestions for citizen action.
>
> Those of us most intimately acquainted with League activities are the strongest believers in its usefulness.[28]

Conclusions

This comprehensive study of the Massachusetts Civic League, its organization and activities, has presented the author with an excellent opportunity to draw certain impartial conclusions. These conclusions are stated herewith:

Unfortunately, the Massachusetts Civic League has some weaknesses in its organization. First, there is too much responsibility for the activities of the Association delegated to one person, the Executive Secretary. This officer is required to carry on too many activities. The incumbent in this position, Miss Katharine Lyford, seems to thrive on this excess of activity. Nevertheless, she could use more assistants in her numerous duties. Although the Executive Secretary does have an assistant, the assistant is so occupied by the operational problems of the office that she cannot be sufficiently free to aid the Executive Secretary.

28. Letter from Mr. Sydney Williams April 5, 1946.

Furthermore, because the Executive Secretary is so important to the League's functions, in order to replace an incumbent, a candidate would have to serve an apprenticeship for many years in order to understand completely the work of the organization and of the office.

A second weakness of the League is noticeable in its lack of "young blood." Yearly, old members who have served faithfully for a number of years are dying; others are becoming less active. There is a definite need for young members who will assume more responsibilities for carrying on the work of the organization. Perhaps the members of the Research Committee on Special State Problems[29] will become the nucleus of such a group.

Finally, the efforts of the League are often limited by the budget of the Association. Since Joseph Lee died, there has been a lack of funds to carry on the needed work. It would be desirable if new methods of acquiring funds could be discovered.

In spite of the weaknesses of the League, there can be no doubt that it has definite value. There are three major conditions which enhance the value of the League: (1) The League is non-partisan. It can, therefore, be free of partisan ties or loyalties; (2) The League is invaluable as the people's loyal opposition. Miss Lyford has continually stressed the fact that though opposition may appear futile, it would be fatal to

29. Supra, Chapter II, Pages 30 and 31.

let a bad bill go by without some opposition. Thus the sponsor of the bill cannot claim unanimous support for the provisions of the bill.

(3) The greatest value of the League is that it has no ax to grind. It does not favor any special interest, nor does it have a specific program to foster except those policies which better the lot of the people of the Commonwealth.

There is one project which the Massachusetts Civic League could foster in the future; namely, it could try to serve as an advisory agency to local governmental units, providing on request information which would aid in the solution of local problems.

It is quite difficult to predict the future of the Massachusetts Civic League, but, as long as the League continues "to focus public opinion," [30] to crystallize the real issues, and to safeguard the best interests of the Commonwealth, there can be no doubt of the continued value of this organization.

30. Motto of the Massachusetts Civic League as it appears on each issue of The Lens.

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IX	3	July, 1931
X	7	April, 1932
XII	1	January, 1934
XIV	2	July, 1936
XV	7	December, 1937
XVI	4	June-July, 1938
XVIII	9	December, 1940
XXIII	4	June-July, 1945
XXIII	5	September-October, 1945
XXV	1	January, 1946
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